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CHRISTIAN LIBERTY

AND OTHER SERMONS

1916-1917



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CHRISTIAN LIBERTY

AND OTHER SERMONS

1916-1917

BY

HERBERT HENSLEY HENSON, D.D.

LORD BISHOP OF HEREFORD. SOMETIME DEAN OF DURHAM
AND CANON OF WESTMINSTER

MACMILLAN AND CO., LIMITED
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THESE SERMONS ARE RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED

BY
THE AUTHOR

PREFACE

THIS volume contains sermons which have been preached, mostly in Durham Cathedral, during the last two years. It owes its publication solely to two causes—the desire of my friends in Durham to have in print some of the discourses which they had heard, and especially that which closed my ministry as Dean on January 27, 1918, and the desire of many friends elsewhere that I should mark the beginning of my episcopate by some pronouncement which, while fairly representative of my manner of teaching, should have no reference to the controversy which has gathered about my name during the last two months. Accordingly I have brought together a number of sermons which will perhaps fairly satisfy both requirements.

It would serve no useful purpose now to review at length the agitation which has been carried on

throughout the country with the avowed object of excluding me from that place on the Episcopal Bench to which His Majesty, on the Prime Minister's advice, had appointed me, but it will not be thought improper if I direct public attention to some considerations which are of far more than personal importance.

I will but name in order to repudiate the two assumptions on which the agitation has proceeded, viz. that there are two standards of orthodoxy in the Church of England so that teaching which is rightly tolerated in a priest becomes intolerable in a bishop, and that a bishop-designate may rightly be called upon before his consecration to supplement the legally required declarations of belief (creeds and articles) by such other assurances of orthodoxy as may be demanded by suspicious individuals.

It surely needs no arguing that heresy cannot vary with hierarchical rank, and that if liberty be restricted on the Episcopal Bench, it cannot long survive in the ranks of the Priesthood. It must be evident to every considering man that, if Law is to give way to Private Opinion in the matter of a Bishop's orthodoxy, there is an end of all

security, and the final destruction of spiritual independence.

One further assumption merits comment — I mean the assumption that the diocese of Hereford was generally opposed to my appointment. That allegation was made with assurance, repeated without examination, and argued from with confidence. But it was none the less quite false. That individuals disliked the appointment may go without saying. In a Church so deeply divided as the Church of England unanimity is hardly possible. But that the dislike was widely extended I am persuaded was not the case. As soon as my appointment was known, I began to receive letters expressed in very loyal and appreciative terms, assuring me of a warm welcome in the diocese of Hereford. These assurances came from every part of the diocese, from clergy of various types of Churchmanship, from municipal authorities, and from private individuals. In some cases strong indignation was expressed at the misrepresentation of diocesan feeling which had been made. As the agitation developed, and extraordinary efforts were made to create prejudice against me, the steady

goodwill of the Hereford diocese *as a whole* persisted; and when on Shrove Tuesday I was enthroned in the Cathedral, no evidence of popular goodwill appeared to be lacking. It seemed to me right to say nothing until a term had been placed to controversy by my entrance into the See, but now there can be no reason why the facts should not be generally known.

The English Church Union, in order presumably to justify the agitation which owed its origin and continuance mainly to its sinister activity, has issued a sixpenny pamphlet entitled *Dr. HENSLEY HENSON'S Opinions*. A series of quotations from works of mine published during the last fifteen years is set forth under various headings, and the reader is assured in a prefatory note that "a reference to their context will rather aggravate than extenuate their gravity." I have been at the pains of testing this assurance by reading the contexts, and I must needs record a protest against misrepresentation, none the less gross and hurtful for being cleverly masqued by a profession of scrupulous fairness. A protest is the more requisite since it cannot be thought an extravagant assumption that this

pamphlet will have vastly more readers than any of the books it claims to quote from.

More than twenty years have passed since, in 1897, I had the temerity for the first time to publish a book. Since then the list of publications under my name has multiplied, and I have now much to answer for. The English Church Union has compelled me during the last few weeks to review my own work. It was a tiresome, and in some sense a humiliating, experience. Much has been said crudely and hastily which I could wish had been said with larger caution and more deliberate care. Some things, perhaps, had better never have been said at all. But there is no publication of mine which I now wish to recall, none which, if read with intelligence and candour, and with fair allowance for time, place, purpose, and circumstance, does not seem to me now essentially honest and true. I am persuaded that, in spite of many and evident defects, my teaching has been sound and constructive, in effect as it certainly was in design.

I have included in this volume the two sermons preached in the City Temple on March 25, 1917. If I may judge from statements which have appeared

in some quarters, considerable misapprehension exists as to the circumstances in which those sermons were delivered. I have, therefore, asked and received the permission of the Bishop of London to print in an Appendix the letters which passed between his Lordship and myself in connexion with my preaching.

H. H. HEREFORD.

February 18, 1918.

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I

CHRISTIAN LIBERTY¹

YE, BRETHREN, WERE CALLED FOR FREEDOM.—*Galatians* v. 13.

I. CHRISTIANITY was born into an enslaved world. Society was everywhere built on the foundation of slavery ; and, even among the free populations, there was nowhere any political system which could be called free. Roman liberty had become the shadow of a shade : Greek liberty had long vanished : in the non-Roman world government was identical with despotism. The political servitude of mankind went along with a profounder bondage in the sphere of religion. Ancient religion was tribal, national, imperial, racial for the most part. The rights of the individual conscience were as yet unperceived. It is true that there were coming on the scene religions of a new type, which ignored the old limitations, and

¹ Preached in Durham Cathedral on the first Sunday in Lent, March 12, 1916, at Evensong.

were truly to be described as universal. Among these the Religion of the Jews held no unimportant place. Christianity emerged as an offshoot of Judaism, and very soon replaced the older system in the regard of civilized men.

2. Liberty is one of the notes of Christianity as it is presented in the Apostolic writings. The Gospel, indeed, brought no claim for political enfranchisement. It accepted without demur the institution of slavery, and attached great importance to civic loyalty. It even acquiesced in the subordination of the female sex, although it proclaimed a spiritual equality of men and women, which seemed properly incompatible with it. In this respect we may say that the new Religion was "finding its feet," and had not yet taken up a permanent position.

3. Christian liberty is represented as a result of discipleship. To become a Christian was to be set free from bondage, and endowed with freedom. "WITH FREEDOM DID CHRIST SET US FREE," says ST. PAUL. "YE, BRETHREN, WERE CALLED FOR FREEDOM." Mainly, he had in mind release from the servitude of sin. Men were thought of as the slaves of the sins which they were in the habit of committing. When the Message of the Wrath of GOD against sin, of HIS appointed Judgment of all

sinner, of the near approach of the Judge's Advent, was proclaimed, they were stirred in conscience and filled with fear. When, moreover, to this terrifying message was added the Gospel of Redemption, the preaching of CHRIST CRUCIFIED, and they were shown a way of escape from their sins, they were filled with new hope. "THEY PASSED OUT OF DEATH INTO LIFE." Their old sins were eagerly renounced, and the new life of righteousness was embraced. This implied a process of moral enfranchisement. "BEING MADE FREE FROM SIN, YE BECAME SERVANTS OF RIGHTEOUSNESS," writes ST. PAUL to the Romans. In the Gentile sphere, where a very low standard of morals prevailed, and men were generally immersed in sin, Christian liberty had mainly this moral reference: but among the Jews, who had been trained in the knowledge of the law, and accustomed to a relatively exalted morality, discipleship could not imply any dramatic change of life. Christian liberty was rather spiritual than moral. Men were led out of the legal into the filial relation to GOD. The essence of Religion ceased to be sought in the fulfilment of law, and was found in fellowship. Legalism, not immoral living, was the bondage, from which the Gospel set men free.

4. Legalism is not the same thing as Superstition,

but it is of the same kindred, and commonly a close ally. The one is a mechanical service of the true GOD, the other may be a very sincere service of the false. But, clearly, the notion that the true GOD can be served acceptably in a mechanical way leads men far on the road of the fundamental error which makes men worship gods that are cruel, or capricious, or sensual. Christianity released men from the bondage of superstition, and thus set them free from a multitude of moral perversions and theological delusions. "YE SHALL KNOW THE TRUTH," said CHRIST to HIS disciples, "AND THE TRUTH SHALL MAKE YOU FREE." And again: "IF, THEREFORE, THE SON SHALL MAKE YOU FREE, YE SHALL BE FREE INDEED." When once men had been led to see GOD in CHRIST, to find the Will of the unseen CREATOR disclosed to them in the Person and Teaching of JESUS, to accept the record of the Gospel as a true version of the Divine Character seen under the conditions of history, then they were for ever set free from such debasing errors as had led the nations into paganism, and given a sinister aspect to the history of religion. "HE THAT HATH SEEN ME HATH SEEN THE FATHER" is a summary of the Christian revelation. And this revelation from without appealed to, and accorded with, the

revelation from within. There was always the witness of the human heart to the truth of the Gospel: and therefore the acceptance of the Gospel implied an act of faith in the human heart as well as submission to the LORD'S Appeal. ST. PAUL uses a very suggestive mode of speech when he describes his own conversion: "SEEING IT IS GOD THAT SAID, LIGHT SHALL SHINE OUT OF DARKNESS, WHO SHINED IN OUR HEARTS, TO GIVE THE LIGHT OF THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE GLORY OF GOD IN THE FACE OF JESUS CHRIST." Always conversion was a spiritual fact, transacted within the citadel of the Self, an achievement of the victorious CHRIST. "NOW THE LORD IS THE SPIRIT," writes the Apostle, adding this luminous declaration, "WHERE THE SPIRIT OF THE LORD IS, THERE IS LIBERTY." Self-respect was quickened, strengthened, and interpreted by conversion.

5. Christian liberty, then, must mean, not political or economic liberty, but that liberty which comes from the Christian belief in GOD, and from the Christian ordering of life as CHRIST'S disciple. This liberty is clearly compatible with any measure of political or economic servitude which does not impinge on self-respect. Such a moral liberty had been discerned by the philosophers of antiquity. It

was no new discovery of the Christian preachers. The Stoic teachers also preached a sublime contempt of temporal fortunes. They proclaimed a lofty disdain for the inequalities of economic condition, and the harsh discords of temporal fortune. They insisted on the proper superiority of man to his circumstances. "Virtue is barred to none," writes SENECA, "she is open to all, she receives all, she invites all, gentlefolk, freedmen, slaves, kings, exiles alike." This inner freedom which the good man possesses cannot be destroyed by any other power than his own. The only servitude which merited the name was that which was self-created. Stoicism and Christianity came very near together here. It is the spirit which makes the difference, the spirit of love and hope born of discipleship. The Gospel breathed life into the dry bones of Stoicism, and transformed a dead theory into a possible rule of life.

6. Stoicism perforce remained the creed of a few proud spirits, belonging mostly to the leisured and educated classes, where wealth mitigated the hardships of life, and made the thousand ills of poverty subject of distant curiosity rather than of personal experience. It possessed at best the chill rigid beauty of a marble statue: it could sink to a self-conscious pose. In front of harsh fortune it

suggested suicide. Thus the Stoic affirmed his liberty. Christianity abhorred suicide, and preached the more difficult duty of resignation. The difference between the two conceptions of liberty could not, perhaps, be better exhibited than in this respect—the one multiplied suicides, the other inspired reformers and crowned reformers as martyrs.

7. The two roots of Christian Liberty are the old belief in GOD as the CREATOR, inherited from Israel, and interpreted sublimely by the Hebrew Prophets, on the one hand, and the new belief in CHRIST as GOD wondrously incarnate for man's redemption, on the other. I do not say that the first Christians would have so explained their faith. They had not thought out the implications of their worship, nor could they in advance of the experiences which would compel them to stand on their own defence, and show reason for the faith that was in them. The Creed of the Church, as we possess it now, is the product of many generations of Christian life and thought, a great river of truth which, as it moves away ever farther from its parent springs, takes into the waxing volume of its waters mingled elements from the soil through which it carves its way. As from the vantage-ground of our own age we review the history of Christianity, we can

perceive these two convictions rising beyond the wastes of ancient controversy, like the pillars of Palmyra from the desert sands, Belief in GOD, and belief in CHRIST—the truth of Creation received from Israel, and the truth of Redemption revealed in CHRIST. The one truth rests on the other, of which indeed it is both the complement and the interpretation. There could have been no New Testament save as an Epilogue to the Old. “THE LAW HATH BEEN OUR TUTOR TO BRING US UNTO CHRIST,” said ST. PAUL, speaking as a Jew. The same may be said of every nation with respect to the religious systems which have trained and assisted the human spirit, preparing it for larger visions of GOD. CHRIST Himself indicated the same inevitable order when HE said to HIS disciples in the upper room, “YE BELIEVE IN GOD, BELIEVE ALSO IN ME.”

8. Christians, like other men, have to face the problem which life in the world proposes, the problem of conduct. But Christians have these two fundamental truths to guide them towards a solution, and in so far as they do solve the problem congruously with the belief in GOD as Creator, and in CHRIST as Redeemer, they have found out what Christian liberty really means. For the question

resolves itself into the measures and limits of a Christian man's liberty of action in society. Every man, it is important to remember, has to determine for himself what his personal behaviour shall be. Even if, weary of the manly task of thinking, he shall decide to cut the matter short by submitting himself at a stroke to some authority, which will mark out his practice in the utmost detail, he will still have to face the preliminary question, Whether the authority in question is, or is not, entitled to his acceptance. In short, he will perforce depend in the last resort on his own private judgment for the course he takes. We may add that no authority external to himself can provide him with rules against every contingency, for which he will require guidance. Life is so rich in novel situations, human nature is so fertile in surprises, that the attempt to cover conduct by casuistic decisions is bound to fail sooner or later, nay, its success even in the most favourable circumstances can be but brief and partial. It is well that we should realize that we must (being such creatures as GOD has made us, inscrutable by our fellows, incommunicably responsible, ultimately free)—we must choose our own path, and determine our own action.

II

CHRISTIAN LIBERTY¹

AND GOD SAW EVERYTHING THAT HE HAD MADE, AND, BEHOLD, IT WAS VERY GOOD.—*Genesis* i. 31.

WHATSOEVER IS SOLD IN THE SHAMBLES, EAT, ASKING NO QUESTION FOR CONSCIENCE SAKE: FOR "THE EARTH IS THE LORD'S, AND THE FULNESS THEREOF."—I *Corinthians* x. 25, 26.

I. MAINLY the world into which Christianity was born was divided between polytheists and dualists, that is, between idolaters and philosophers, those who worshipped many gods, and those who worshipped one god, but conceived of him as limited in his power by the existence of a material universe independent of his will in origin and progress. I state the case in the broadest and simplest terms, for it makes nothing for our present purpose that we should use any other. The Jews, who possessed but little aptitude for philosophy, held a simple doctrine of creation, and acquiesced with compara-

¹ Preached in Durham Cathedral on the second Sunday in Lent, March 19, 1916, at Evensong.

tive facility in the unsolved problem which experience presented to their creed. When Christianity, with its inherited Jewish belief in the CREATOR, passed outside the Jewish sphere, and began to win its way among the non-Jewish populations of the Empire, it found itself confronted by a multitude of religious and philosophical systems which proceeded on different assumptions. Men were (as they must always do) applying their creeds to their conduct, finding in their religion some key to life. Asceticism based on a dualistic belief was widely distributed, and bore heavily on the new converts, who had been led by their discipleship to a far graver view of evil than was common in pagan society. In the Epistles which ST. PAUL addressed to the non-Jewish or partially-Jewish Churches of Corinth and Colossæ, we find him evidently dealing with various tendencies which, whether ascetic or antinomian, seem to have sprung from current dualism. Accordingly he rebukes them by pointing his converts to the primal and fundamental truth which the Church had received from the Synagogue—the belief in GOD as CREATOR of all things. Take such a passage as the following, directed to the practical question of partaking of such meats as according to current pagan usage had been associated with idolatrous worship: “CON-

CERNING THEREFORE THE EATING OF THINGS SACRIFICED TO IDOLS, WE KNOW THAT NO IDOL IS ANYTHING IN THE WORLD, AND THAT THERE IS NO GOD BUT ONE. FOR THOUGH THERE BE THAT ARE CALLED GODS, WHETHER IN HEAVEN OR ON EARTH; AS THERE ARE GODS MANY AND LORDS MANY: YET TO US THERE IS ONE GOD, THE FATHER, OF WHOM ARE ALL THINGS, AND WE UNTO HIM." And in the text, he quotes and applies to his practical purpose the language of the xxivth Psalm: "WHATSOEVER IS SOLD IN THE SHAMBLES, EAT, ASKING NO QUESTION FOR CONSCIENCE SAKE: FOR 'THE EARTH IS THE LORD'S, AND THE FULNESS THEREOF.'" He bases Christian liberty on the first article of the Apostles' Creed.

2. The bearing of the Creed on the practical question at stake is not hard to see. Is the material world to be accounted good, or evil? Is the physical nature with its insistent appetites to be respected, or suppressed? Is it right to indulge the æsthetic emotions? Ought a Christian man to cultivate the mind? Nothing less is involved than the whole point of view from which the external world is to be regarded, and the mingled nature of man interpreted. Finally it is the point of view which will determine

the type of character and conduct which the Christian accepts as legitimate and requisite. In his extremely valuable Gifford Lectures on "THEISM AND HUMANISM" MR. BALFOUR has shown how vital is the influence of Theistic Faith on the whole process of human civilization :

My desire has been to show that all we think best in human culture, whether associated with beauty, goodness, or knowledge, requires GOD for its support, that Humanism without Theism loses more than half its value.

MR. BALFOUR refuses to limit his argument. Not morality only, but science and art also are the beneficiaries of Religion :

Right conduct is much, but it is not all. We not only act, but we know, and we admire ; nor could I be quite content with any form of Theism which did not sustain in every essential part the full circle of human interests (pp. 248-9).

The cultured British Philosopher clearly adopts the same attitude towards his creed as that which ST. PAUL confessed when he pointed to the truth of Creation as providing the basis for Christian liberty in the use of created things. "FOR EVERY CREATURE OF GOD IS GOOD, AND NOTHING IS TO BE REJECTED, IF IT BE RECEIVED WITH THANKSGIVING : FOR IT IS SANCTIFIED THROUGH THE WORD OF GOD AND PRAYER."

3. But was there not danger of placing too high an estimate on the external world? Would not the notion grow in the mind that physical appetites carried their own title to satisfaction? Might not the Flesh be given a kind of Divine Right to self-assertion? It is precisely in view of such considerations that we have to remember what the Jewish doctrine of creation was. In those first chapters of Genesis the record of the Creation pauses significantly at Man, and indicates a difference in his case, which marks him off from the rest of created beings. "GOD CREATED MAN IN HIS OWN IMAGE, IN THE IMAGE OF GOD CREATED HE HIM." That "IMAGE OF GOD" was moral, not physical: and it revealed itself within the man himself as the true principle of his conduct. Accordingly, the Hebrew Prophets built their teaching on the assumption that the highest Law for Man was not certified to him from below but from above, not from without but from within, not found in external Nature nor in his Flesh which bound him thereto, but always in a spiritual witness, ineffable yet audible and authoritative, which set limits to his bodily desires, and marked out for him the way of his duty: "HE HATH SHEWED THEE, O MAN, WHAT IS RIGHT: AND WHAT DOTTH THE LORD REQUIRE OF THEE,

BUT TO DO JUSTLY, AND TO LOVE MERCY, AND TO WALK HUMBLY WITH THY GOD." The Jews were a matter-of-fact, even a worldly-minded people : they had little concern for art or science : they had no aptitude for philosophy : but they realized as no other people realized, that there is a Moral Law, implicit in the Universe, inscribed in Man, which restrains the impetuous onset of natural passion, and sets limits to the satisfaction of physical appetite. The author of Ecclesiasticus is, perhaps, a good example of a devout Jew. He abounds in shrewd counsels, and enjoys the world, but he has always the consciousness of GOD'S Law as conditioning his liberty : " HIS WAYS ARE PLAIN UNTO THE HOLY ; SO ARE THEY STUMBLING - BLOCKS UNTO THE WICKED. GOOD THINGS ARE CREATED FROM THE BEGINNING FOR THE GOOD ; SO ARE EVIL THINGS FOR SINNERS. THE CHIEF OF ALL THINGS NECESSARY FOR THE LIFE OF MAN ARE WATER, AND FIRE, AND HONEY, AND MILK, THE BLOOD OF THE GRAPE, AND OIL, AND CLOTHING ; ALL THESE THINGS ARE FOR GOOD TO THE GODLY ; SO TO THE SINNERS THEY SHALL BE TURNED INTO EVIL." He, like ST. PAUL, found his title to use the world and its good gifts in his conviction that " THE EARTH IS THE LORD'S." He lived indeed on a

lower spiritual plane than the Apostle ; he belonged to an earlier phase of religious development ; but he would not wholly have misunderstood such words as these : "WALK BY THE SPIRIT, AND YE SHALL NOT FULFIL THE LUST OF THE FLESH. FOR THE FLESH LUSTETH AGAINST THE SPIRIT, AND THE SPIRIT AGAINST THE FLESH : FOR THESE ARE CONTRARY THE ONE TO THE OTHER : THAT YE MAY NOT DO THE THINGS THAT YE WOULD."

4. This belief in the original and essential goodness of the world, secured by the truth of Divine creation, disallows and can make no terms with the sensualist's plausible and popular plea that Nature justifies and even requires his self-indulgence. Plausible, indeed, that plea is, for the fleshly passions are strong and insistent, and they seem to be identical with the very law of our nature : but we have that within us which repudiates such identity, and rebukes it as treason to the true Self. We know that our Nature includes more in its complex whole than the ardours of fleshly passion, that there are other desires than those of the body which demand satisfaction, and that these speak with an authority which admits no challenge. There is an order in natural claims : the Law of Nature must mean the supremacy of the highest elements in

Nature, the government of the lower self by the higher. Therefore we must needs find the true Law of our Nature, not in the bodily appetites, but in those Diviner and more intimate Powers which abash and restrain them, those "high instincts before which our mortal Nature did tremble like a guilty thing surprised," instincts

which, be they what they may,
Are yet the fountain-light of all our day,
Are yet a master-light of all our seeing.

5. Subordination is not destruction, or even condemnation. Rather it is the condition of rational use, of salutary service, of the fulfilment of natural function. "THE EARTH IS THE LORD'S, AND THE FULNESS THEREOF." No element of Nature is without its Divine Right to exist: no faculty has been created without a sphere of exercise: no appetite is doomed to disappointment. Upon the whole Creation in its marvellous wealth and variety rests the CREATOR'S Blessing: it bears the stamp of Divine ownership: it is inspired with Divine purpose. The Universe is a Kosmos, that is, an ordered world in which prevails the Reign of Law. "GOD IS NOT A GOD OF CONFUSION, BUT OF PEACE." Take away subordination, and the Kosmos sinks into anarchy: but the anarchy indicates, not

the badness of the universe itself, but the necessity of Law in Nature. Restore Law, and the very factors of confusion become again the ministers of righteousness. Asceticism mistakes the nature of the malady of life. Its diagnosis of the prevailing disease is wrong. Selecting this or that abused function, faculty, or franchise, and clothing it with sinister importance, it seeks to find a way of recovery by means of arbitrary prohibitions and proscriptions. But the mutilation of life is not to be identified with its redemption :

There shall never be one lost good ! What was, shall live
as before ;

The evil is null, is nought, is silence implying sound ;

What was good, shall be good, with, for evil, so much good
more ;

On the earth the broken arcs ; in the heaven, a perfect round.

Redemption vindicates Creation from the long scandals and suspicions of its history. Dimly and fitfully the prophets of Israel caught the vision of a vast re-consecration of a recovered universe :

“ IN THAT DAY SHALL THERE BE UPON THE BELLS OF THE HORSES, ‘ HOLY UNTO THE LORD ’ ; AND THE POTS IN THE LORD’S HOUSE SHALL BE LIKE THE BOWLS BEFORE THE ALTAR. YEA, EVERY POT IN JERUSALEM AND IN JUDAH SHALL BE

HOLY UNTO THE LORD OF HOSTS : AND ALL THEY
THAT SACRIFICE SHALL COME AND TAKE OF THEM,
AND SEETHE THEREIN : AND IN THAT DAY THERE
SHALL BE NO MORE A CANAANITE IN THE HOUSE
OF THE LORD OF HOSTS."

III

CHRISTIAN LIBERTY¹

THE SON OF MAN CAME EATING AND DRINKING, AND THEY SAY, BEHOLD A GLUTTONOUS MAN, AND A WINEBIBBER, A FRIEND OF PUBLICANS AND SINNERS !—*St. Matthew xi. 19.*

I. WE spoke last Sunday of the bearing of the belief in GOD as the Creator of all things on the conception of liberty. That belief, we know, had been taken over by the Christian Church from the Jewish Synagogue, and it had affected very powerfully the view which the Apostles and their converts adopted as to their duty with respect to the external world, and their doctrine as to their own nature. To-day I propose to enquire how far that view, and that doctrine, were modified by the specifically Christian factor in the Church's belief. When the disciples passed from the first part of the Apostolic Creed to the second, did they find their liberty con-

¹ Preached in Durham Cathedral on the third Sunday in Lent, March 26, 1916, at Evensong.

firmed, or disallowed? It would seem that in those first days the baptismal Creed was summed up in the acknowledgment of CHRIST'S Divine Lordship, the full Trinitarian formula which has established itself in the use of the Christian Society belonging to a rather later period. Did this confession of JESUS AS LORD justify, or prohibit, the old Jewish conception of liberty, as it had been shaped by the prophets? Was there anything in the Example or in the Teaching of the MASTER which would require the disciples to abandon, or mitigate, the doctrine which they had received from the Rabbis?

2. It is certain that in the eyes of HIS contemporaries JESUS was almost alarmingly free in HIS attitude towards the external world. HE was neither a recluse nor an ascetic. HIS training had been normal: HIS habit during the thirty years which preceded HIS public Ministry had been unmarked by any extraordinary features. HIS neighbours in Nazareth had known HIM as "THE CARPENTER": HE had been a familiar figure in the village Synagogue, where it was "HIS CUSTOM" to attend the services, and perhaps to take some public part in them. HE had grown up in a family circle among "BROTHERS" and "SISTERS," who were well

known to the townsfolk. After HE had received HIS Messianic Vocation, and had entered on HIS Ministry, HIS Life continued to be as normal as the circumstances permitted. HE moved about in society freely, accepting invitations to dinner, and attending marriage feasts. HE drew some odium upon Himself by HIS readiness to associate with those sections of society which were commonly regarded with disfavour by the religious world, "THE PUBLICANS AND SINNERS." HIS treatment of Women was unusually courteous and sympathetic: HE was evidently fond of Children, and a favourite with them. HIS parables give us the impression that HE loved the country, and drew inspiration from its sights and sounds. HE made a point of paying the taxes, and of conforming Himself to the religious system of HIS nation. HE had a rare attraction for young and ardent men, and had at least one companion who was so close a friend as to pass under the touching description of "THE DISCIPLE WHOM JESUS LOVED." Now all this is very gracious, very beautiful, but also very ordinary, very unlike the conception of a religious leader which men are apt to form for themselves, strangely unlike most of the religious heroes of the human race. Probably a great volume of unuttered dis-

appointment went along with the malignant calumny of the Pharisees: "BEHOLD, A GLUTTONOUS MAN, AND A WINEBIBBER, A FRIEND OF PUBLICANS AND SINNERS!"

3. Such then was the MASTER'S Example. Christians could not but be confirmed in their belief that as HIS disciples "THEY WERE CALLED FOR FREEDOM." What of HIS Teaching? In spirit and prevailing tendency the Gospel which HE proclaimed was a Message of Enfranchisement. Take its central postulate, the Fatherhood of GOD. HE bases on it a call to Trust, to a happy confidence in the Divine Goodwill, to a serene indifference to the "changes and chances" of fortune, to an inner liberty of spirit, such as the Stoics sought at the expense of human nature, but which HE made the frankest expression of human nature. Or take its specific teachings. HE came into sharp collision with the established doctrine of the Jews on the questions of religious observance. With respect to Prayer, Almsgiving, Fasting, Sabbath Observance, Payment of Tithes and the like, HE insisted on piercing through the conventional acts to the original principle, and conditioning obedience by loyalty to fundamental purpose. At every point HE substituted a free and intelligent service for a service which had become

servile and mechanical. "THE SON OF MAN IS LORD OF THE SABBATH," He said. Again, "IN PRAYING USE NOT VAIN REPETITIONS, AS THE GENTILES DO: FOR THEY THINK THAT THEY SHALL BE HEARD FOR THEIR MUCH SPEAKING. BE NOT THEREFORE LIKE UNTO THEM: FOR YOUR FATHER KNOWETH WHAT THINGS YE HAVE NEED OF, BEFORE YE ASK HIM." Again: "THERE IS NOTHING FROM WITHOUT THE MAN, THAT GOING INTO HIM CAN DEFILE HIM: BUT THE THINGS WHICH PROCEED OUT OF THE MAN ARE THOSE THAT DEFILE THE MAN." Such utterances indicate the same liberty of spirit as that which the MASTER'S Example illustrated. The general impression, then, of the Teaching as well as of the Life of CHRIST confirmed the view which the Synagogue had delivered to the Church. Not with a reference limited to the idol meats of Corinth, but extending to the whole commerce of Man with the external Universe in which he must live, may we adopt the Apostle's formula of Christian Duty: "WHATSOEVER IS SOLD IN THE SHAMBLES, EAT, ASKING NO QUESTION FOR CONSCIENCE SAKE: FOR THE EARTH IS THE LORD'S, AND THE FULNESS THEREOF."

4. The first impressions which the Church re-

ceived from the Example and Teaching of the LORD were confirmed and deepened as she reflected on the whole significance of HIS historic Advent. While the expectation of the Second Advent filled Christian minds, and disinclined believers for the tasks and interests of normal life, there was little disposition to think out a theology, which should include the new elements which the Gospel had added to the ancestral Theism ; but when that great Illusion had faded, the necessity of religious thinking could no longer be concealed, and its recognition was assisted by many circumstances of ecclesiastical history. The doctrine of the Incarnation took shape in many controversies. It is the grand contribution of the Greek mind to the Church's tradition of truth. Among the Greek Thinkers few wielded wider influence in the early centuries than IRENÆUS. He represents the SAVIOUR as Incarnate in such wise as to consecrate and give direction to every phase of human life. Thus the doctrine of the Incarnation implied a frank recognition of life as a whole, and provided an intellectual foundation upon which could be built a practical and generous conception of Christian Duty. Let me borrow from DR. HORT this rendering of a significant passage from the writings of IRENÆUS: }

CHRIST was thirty years of age when HE came to the Baptism, thenceforth having the full age of a teacher, when HE came to Jerusalem, that HE might rightly be able to receive the title of Teacher from all. For to seem one thing, and *be* another, was not His way, as is said by those who represent HIM as being in appearance only: but what HE was, that HE also seemed. Being therefore a Teacher, HE had likewise the ages of a Teacher, *not rejecting nor transcending man, nor breaking the law of the human race in Himself, but hallowing every age by its likeness to Himself*: all, I mean, who through HIM are born anew unto GOD, infants, and little children, and boys, and youths, and elders. Accordingly HE came through every age, with infants becoming an infant, hallowing infants; among little children a little child, hallowing those of that very age, at the same time making Himself to them an example of dutifulness, and righteousness, and subjection: among young men a young man, becoming an example to young men and hallowing them to the Lord. So also an elder among elders, that HE might be a perfect Teacher in all things, not only as regards the setting forth of the Truth but also as regards age, at the same time hallowing also the elders, becoming likewise an example to them. Lastly HE came also even unto death, that HE might be the first begotten from the dead, Himself holding the primacy in all things, the Author of life, before all things, and having precedence of all things.¹

There is, perhaps, an element of fancifulness in the patristic view, but at least it brings out two

¹ Vide *The Ante-Nicene Fathers*, p. 72.

points of great importance for Christian Morality. The doctrine of the Incarnation is regarded not only as guaranteeing the proper greatness and Divine potency of human nature, but also as requiring Christians to find in the Example of the Incarnate the true law of human conduct. Thus the Theologian comes to the same conclusion as the Evangelist. Both find in JESUS CHRIST the Champion and Exponent of Liberty.

5. The mere association of the notion of Liberty with the Person and Example of the sinless SAVIOUR saves it in Christian Minds from that facile corruption into licence, which is the worst danger to Christian morals. For liberty was perfectly exhibited in "THE SON OF MAN," and "IN HIM WAS NO SIN." Therefore, every approach to Christian Liberty must imply a conquest of sin, a rescuing of natural faculty from its facile abuses, a redemption of man. The Incarnation passes into the Atonement, for in such a world as this the Witness of the INCARNATE must needs take tragic shape. JESUS must vindicate HIS human rights against the powers of Evil, and stand at the head of a tempted race as Himself "TEMPTED IN ALL POINTS LIKE AS WE ARE, YET WITHOUT SIN." So the sombre necessity of discipline grows

on the mind which reflects on the manner of our Redemption. "FOR IT BECAME HIM, FOR WHOM ARE ALL THINGS, AND THROUGH WHOM ARE ALL THINGS, IN BRINGING MANY SONS UNTO GLORY, TO MAKE THE AUTHOR OF THEIR SALVATION PERFECT THROUGH SUFFERINGS." Antinomians fall into their fatal error because they do not read Christian Liberty in CHRIST, and learn from HIM that every step away from Goodness is a falling into bondage, that every advance in Goodness is an enfranchisement of Nature. Liberty indeed is ever on their lips, but the servitude of sin has pushed its iron into their soul, and they are verily slaves. Their appeal is to the lawless appetites, not to the sovereign Spirit of Man. "FOR UTTERING GREAT SWELLING WORDS OF VANITY, THEY ENTICE IN THE LUSTS OF THE FLESH, BY LASCIVIOUSNESS, THOSE WHO ARE JUST ESCAPING FROM THEM THAT LIVE IN ERROR; PROMISING THEM LIBERTY, WHILE THEY THEMSELVES ARE BONDSERVANTS OF CORRUPTION: FOR OF WHOM A MAN IS OVERCOME, OF THE SAME IS HE ALSO BROUGHT INTO BONDAGE."

IV

CHRISTIAN LIBERTY¹

ALL THINGS ARE LAWFUL FOR ME : BUT NOT ALL THINGS ARE EXPEDIENT.—I *Corinthians* vi. 12.

I. CHRISTIANITY was born into an enslaved world, that is, into a world disordered and corrupted, hostile therefore in many of its circumstances to the higher life of men, and for them always a scene of temptation and moral risk. Christian liberty has to be exercised under formidable difficulties, which in many respects must needs limit and restrain it. The Christian life is by the sacred writers expressed by metaphors which suggest anything but liberty, or the security which liberty presupposes. It is a pilgrimage, a stewardship, a work, a warfare, a service, a mission. The Christian puts his hand to the plough, bows his neck to the yoke, bends his

¹ Preached in Durham Cathedral on the fourth Sunday in Lent, April 2, 1916, at Evensong.

shoulder to the burden, drinks the bitter chalice of the LORD, and follows HIM bearing also the Cross. There is much in the New Testament which suggests that the Christian life is hard, and shadowed, the passage of a pilgrim through unfriendly and difficult country, the warfare of a soldier against subtle and mighty foes. There is a colour of ascetic severity about much of the Apostolic language, which might seem far removed from that natural liberty which "THE SON OF MAN" proclaimed and illustrated. ST. JOHN might be writing from a cloister, and addressing a monastic community, when thus he expresses himself: "LOVE NOT THE WORLD; NEITHER THE THINGS THAT ARE IN THE WORLD. IF ANY MAN LOVE THE WORLD, THE LOVE OF THE FATHER IS NOT IN HIM. FOR ALL THAT IS IN THE WORLD, THE LUST OF THE FLESH, AND THE LUST OF THE EYES, AND THE VAINGLORY OF LIFE, IS NOT OF THE FATHER, BUT IS OF THE WORLD. AND THE WORLD PASSETH AND THE LUST THEREOF: BUT HE THAT DOETH THE WILL OF GOD ABIDETH FOR EVER." We have to remind ourselves that the same Apostle has written also: "GOD SO LOVED THE WORLD THAT HE GAVE HIS ONLY BEGOTTEN SON, THAT WHOSOEVER BELIEVETH ON HIM SHOULD NOT PERISH."

2. It must, I think, be admitted that the severity of the Apostolic language has for modern Christians (especially if they be persons of culture and knowledge) a disconcerting and even a repellent character. It seems to be exaggerated, and, when we take it on to our own lips, and strive to make it the vehicle of our own sentiments, we find it to be remote from our experience, unreal therefore and for us untrue. We have to accept it with a heavy discount. The "WORLD," as it confronted the first believers, was pagan, corrupt, persecuting. Their wrongs exaggerated its worst features, and obscured its best. Christians then saw the society of the Empire through the blurred glass of a natural and violent prejudice. Where there was so much that was indisputably wrong, could there be anything that was genuinely right? We can see the same process affecting men's minds in their judgment of Germany. The evil is so gross and manifest, that they can see nothing else. The first Christians judged society in the same way, and we may fairly discount their verdict by their prejudice. It would not be excessive to say that the broad effect of the more exact knowledge of the older world, which we now possess, has raised our estimate of the Græco-Roman civilization, and lowered our conception of the

Apostolic Church. The one was not so bad as we had supposed, nor was the last so good.

3. ST. JOHN was a Jew, and a thinker. There is, perhaps, a touch of Jewish moroseness about his view of life, and something abstract and impersonal about his writing. The more generous mind and larger experience of ST. PAUL, himself a Roman citizen, educated in his earliest years in a great Græco-Roman centre, and a much-travelled man, suggested a different and a more appreciative attitude towards the contemporary world. He could see in it many elements of nobility and promise, which he could not but recognize as essentially Christian, and therefore entitled to the regard and use of Christian men. "FINALLY, BRETHREN," he writes to the converts of Philippi, "WHATSOEVER THINGS ARE TRUE, WHATSOEVER THINGS ARE HONOURABLE, WHATSOEVER THINGS ARE JUST, WHATSOEVER THINGS ARE PURE, WHATSOEVER THINGS ARE LOVELY, WHATSOEVER THINGS ARE OF GOOD REPORT; IF THERE BE ANY VIRTUE, AND IF THERE BE ANY PRAISE, THINK ON THESE THINGS." But ST. JOHN was more representative of Christian opinion in the first centuries than ST. PAUL. A tradition of ascetic severity was formed, and has cast its shadows over the Church ever

since. When the Bible passed into the hands of unlettered folk, and they were encouraged to draw from its pages their notions of Christian duty, we cannot wonder that their religion was apt to take a morose and Puritanic form, very repugnant to the cultivated intelligence, and easily passing from the artificial to the unreal and hypocritical. It was far easier to hate and despise the "WORLD" in word than to do so in reality, especially when the "WORLD" did not really merit such hatred and scorn. Hence the rapid passage of Puritanical movements from an exaggerated austerity to a hollow convention which may sink, and often has sunk, into a degrading severance between profession and practice.

4. ST. PAUL'S wider experience of life, and his more generous understanding of the civilization of his own age, opened his eyes to aspects of Christian duty which were hidden from the older Apostles, or but with difficulty perceived by them. That the "WORLD" also has claims on a Christian man's consideration, that Christians may not rightly ignore the proper effect of their behaviour on others, that they are bound to conciliate prejudices which are natural and innocent, that they must always assume the best, and not the worst, of men, and make their

appeal to that—these were obligations on which ST. PAUL was wont to insist, even in the teeth of much misunderstanding and calumny. Expediency is a plea which no moralist can afford to ignore, although it may cover the cowardice of the time-server, or the complaisance of the hypocrite. “TAKE THOUGHT FOR THINGS HONOURABLE IN THE SIGHT OF ALL MEN” is a far-reaching admonition, and disallows the crude self-assertion of Puritanism. ST. PAUL is, indeed, the champion of Christian liberty, but he insists on imposing limits on its exercise in the interest of the immature and the unbelieving. Thus he urges that the vagaries of Christian enthusiasm in public worship ought to be restrained in deference to those who must needs be puzzled and offended by them. “IF THEREFORE THE WHOLE CHURCH BE ASSEMBLED TOGETHER, AND ALL SPEAK WITH TONGUES, AND THERE COME IN MEN UNLEARNED OR UNBELIEVING, WILL THEY NOT SAY THAT YE ARE MAD? BUT IF ALL PROPHECY, AND THERE COME IN ONE UNBELIEVING OR UNLEARNED, HE IS REPROVED BY ALL, HE IS JUDGED BY ALL: THE SECRETS OF HIS HEART ARE MADE MANIFEST; AND SO HE WILL FALL DOWN ON HIS FACE AND WORSHIP GOD, DECLARING THAT GOD IS AMONG YOU INDEED.”

In one passage of the Epistle to the Corinthians he describes his own procedure thus: "FOR THOUGH I WAS FREE FROM ALL MEN, I BROUGHT MYSELF UNDER BONDAGE TO ALL, THAT I MIGHT GAIN THE MORE . . . I AM BECOME ALL THINGS TO ALL MEN, THAT I MAY BY ALL MEANS SAVE SOME."

5. This conditioning of freedom by expediency, which ST. PAUL lays down as the duty of Christians with respect to those who were not disciples, was even more plainly their duty with respect to those whom they acknowledged as "BRETHREN IN CHRIST." From the first the Christian Church has been the scene of controversy. It is surely an error to regard controversy as necessarily either sinful or mischievous. Rather, perhaps, we should regard it as the inevitable consequence of that Catholic character which the Christian Society possesses. For a society which includes within its membership every type of mankind, on every grade of culture, and in every variety of circumstance, must needs be marked by internal differences and difficulties, which have no place in more limited communions. A sect can exclude every individual who dissents from the sectarian formula: but the Church of CHRIST, which is the spiritual home of Mankind, must be patient with all, exclusive of none, save only where

Discipleship itself is refused. But the controversies of Christians have too often been charged with a malignant spirit, and become the instruments not of truth but of ambition and pride. Men have forgotten in the ardour of their reasoning, that there is a common interest of Truth, to which they owe an older and more binding allegiance. Not without a bitter justice did MILTON represent theological controversy as one of the employments of the fallen angels in hell :

Others apart sat on a hill retired,
In thoughts more elevate, and reason'd high
Of providence, foreknowledge, will, and fate ;
Fix'd fate, free will, foreknowledge absolute :
And found no end, in wandering mazes lost.

In treating fellow-Christians as their opponents in debate, controversialists have forgotten their more fundamental agreement in the faith and fear of CHRIST. And while the learned have contended, the simple have wondered, and feared, and grown doubtful. While "THE STRONG" have "PLEASED THEMSELVES" in the unchecked exercise of their liberty, "THE WEAK" have been carried into situations which were perilous, and encouraged to make ventures which for them were morally unsafe. This was the essence of ST. PAUL'S argument in the

"leading case" of eating the sacrificial meats. "TAKE HEED," he says, "LEST BY ANY MEANS THIS LIBERTY OF YOURS BECOME A STUMBLING BLOCK TO THE WEAK. FOR IF A MAN SEE THEE WHICH HAST KNOWLEDGE SITTING AT MEAT IN AN IDOL'S TEMPLE, WILL NOT HIS CONSCIENCE, IF HE IS WEAK, BE EMBOLDENED TO EAT THINGS SACRIFICED TO IDOLS, FOR THROUGH THY KNOWLEDGE HE THAT IS WEAK PERISHETH, THE BROTHER FOR WHOSE SAKE CHRIST DIED."

6. "ALL THINGS ARE LAWFUL FOR ME; BUT NOT ALL THINGS ARE EXPEDIENT." The determining of expediency may be a difficult task. Sometimes we have to distinguish between a nearer and a remoter expediency: and while the first is the most insistent, the last is often the most important. Take for example the case of drinking alcohol. That Christians are free to drink cannot be doubted for one moment. To put an evil stamp on alcoholic liquors, and exclude them from the use of Christians, would carry us into an old and demoralizing heresy, which we are clearly bound to resist. But, then, there is the question of expediency. It is certainly the case that drunkenness is a sore scandal and weakness to us as a nation: that it is the dark and ruinous shadow on many individual

lives: that it is regarded generally with an indulgence which cannot be defended on any Christian ground. Ought we not, therefore, in deference to these grave considerations to set our unquestionable liberty aside, and on grounds of expediency become total abstainers? That is the nearer and more obvious expediency. It determines the action of many Christians, and I should be reluctant to censure them. But there is a remoter expediency, which in my own judgment outweighs the other. Is there no danger that the Christian Church shall be carried by the ardour of Total Abstainers into taking up a position which cannot be justified, and which may be widely mischievous? Is there no danger of Temperance and Total Abstinence becoming so closely associated in Christian minds that the one shall pass for the other, and the non-Christian world be led to suppose that it is part of CHRIST'S claim that HIS followers should (like so many Mohammedans) refuse the use of alcohol in any form? Is there no danger of Total Abstinence being lifted into the position of a positive virtue, and given a kind of supremacy, nay, even made the very testing point of Christian discipleship? It is the case that in America many religious bodies have already proceeded to the length of making total

abstinence a condition of communion. In view of these possibilities, nay probabilities, might not a Christian man decide that his duty was to assert his Christian liberty, and, alike by example and by precept, to teach Temperance in the use of GOD'S good gifts, which no man doubts is an essential part of Christian morality? "FOR EVERY CREATURE OF GOD IS GOOD, AND NOTHING IS TO BE REJECTED, IF IT BE RECEIVED WITH THANKSGIVING: FOR IT IS SANCTIFIED THROUGH THE WORD OF GOD AND PRAYER." Every Christian must determine the matter for himself: none ought to judge others for the decision which they have deliberately adopted. It is not given to any man to be infallible: it is given to comparatively few men to avoid mistakes: but every one can be honest, and ought to be so: and none ought to be uncharitable. The great fault of the Total Abstainers is not their abstinence, but their intolerance: even if they were right on the practical question, which I think is not the case, they are clearly wrong in the spirit which they display. To them, pre-eminently, the protest of the Apostle may be addressed: "WHO ART THOU THAT JUDGEST THE SERVANT OF ANOTHER? TO HIS OWN LORD HE STANDETH OR FALLETH. . . . LET EACH MAN BE FULLY

ASSURED IN HIS OWN MIND. . . . BUT THOU, WHY
DOST THOU JUDGE THY BROTHER? OR THOU
AGAIN, WHY DOST THOU SET AT NOUGHT THY
BROTHER? FOR WE SHALL ALL STAND BEFORE
THE JUDGMENT SEAT OF GOD."

V

CHRISTIAN LIBERTY¹

ALL THINGS ARE LAWFUL FOR ME : BUT I WILL NOT BE BROUGHT UNDER THE POWER OF ANY.—1 *Corinthians* vi. 12.

I. LAST Sunday we spoke of the Christian's obligation to limit his exercise of liberty by considerations of expediency. He must take thought for the proper and probable effect of his behaviour on the world and on the Church, that is, on suspicious on-lookers and on "WEAKER BRETHREN." We pointed out that this duty was not without difficulty, that there was a nearer and a remoter expediency to be reckoned with, and that sometimes the last called for different conduct than the first. To-day we have to consider another kind of expediency, nearer, more intimate, more difficult to determine, and even more critically important. The Christian must take thought for the effect of his action on himself. His

¹ Preached in Durham Cathedral on the fifth Sunday in Lent, April 9, 1916, at Evensong.

nature is not to be thought of as a fixed and settled factor. It is rather to be looked upon as the most sensitive and plastic of materials. Character is never made but always in making, and the most powerful agent in the process is the Man himself. There is a reflex action on the Self which results from everything thought, said, and done by the individual, so that it is literally true to say that there is no finality in the moral sphere, that movement forwards or backwards is always the case with us, that the days are so many milestones registering advance or retrogression. "BE NOT DECEIVED," writes the Apostle solemnly, "GOD IS NOT MOCKED: FOR WHATSOEVER A MAN SOWETH THAT SHALL HE ALSO REAP."

2. It needs not that a man should be a Christian in order that he should be conscious of a strife within himself, and realize in some measure its meaning. That there is a higher nature and a lower, and that these are nowise invariably or even ordinarily in agreement, are conclusions to which men have been led by their own experience. The strife within is truly coextensive with humanity, so that the Christian finds the first postulate of the Religion of Redemption guaranteed by the consent of reflective mankind. The Narrative of the Fall of Man which, in naively simple form, as befitted the infancy of the

world, we possess in the Book of Genesis, has its proofs, not merely in the chequered history of civilization, but also in the self-knowledge of every individual. Thoughtful Jews in the time of CHRIST, like thoughtful Christians to-day, rose instinctively above the level of a formal and prescribed literalism, and read the story—

Of man's first disobedience, and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste
Brought death into the world, and all our woe
With loss of Eden,

less as history than as a symbolic picture of an experience renewing itself continuously on earth, and personal to every man. In the Apocalypse of BARUCH, a work written about the same time as ST. PAUL wrote his epistles, and described by a modern scholar as "almost the last noble utterance of Judaism before it plunged into the dark and oppressive years that followed the destruction of Jerusalem," there is a luminous reference to the Fall as giving the key to every man's personal experience :

*For though ADAM first sinned
And brought untimely death upon all,
Yet of those that were born from him
Each one of them has prepared for his own soul torment to
come,
And again each one of them has chosen for himself glories to
come.*

*ADAM is therefore not the cause, save only of his own soul,
But each of us has been the ADAM of his own soul.*

“Civilization with all its triumphs is labour and sorrow ; we build Babylon only at the cost of losing Eden.” And what is true of Civilization is also true of that advance in knowledge and experience which belongs to the individual. Sin must be taken for granted. It is the fundamental fact with which every man must reckon.

3. The fundamental fact of Sin, inwoven into the general life, inextricably bound into the very constitution of human nature as we receive it from sinful ancestors, cannot be denied, but it may be misunderstood, and, in some sense, explained away. The Christian accepts an explanation which (while leaving the central mystery unpierced) insists on treating evil as an alien thing, the disease not the normal habit of humanity, the effect of a violation of Nature not the expression of Nature's Law. “SIN IS LAWLESSNESS” is ST. JOHN'S terse and pregnant dictum. Its presence in the world, and in man, suggests to the considering Christian, not an indictment of his CREATOR, but a proof of the original greatness of his own being. On this point ROUSSEAU wrote finely and justly :

To murmur against GOD because HE does not hinder

the practice of evil, means to reproach HIM for giving to man a glorious nature, and to his acts a moral nobility, for bestowing upon him a title to virtue. What ! in order to restrain man from evil, was HE to limit him to instinct, to make him a mere animal ?

From all this it follows that Christians must start with the knowledge that they cannot trust themselves, that they have "SIN IN THEIR MEMBERS," that, therefore, they have to be on their guard against tendencies and aptitudes peculiar to themselves which may transform normally harmless actions into temptations, and place on freedom in their case limits which, in the case of others, would be superfluous or even absurd. The Christian life is a warfare, not only against open enemies, but also against domestic traitors.

We are betrayed
By what is false within.

Accordingly, on the threshold of discipleship stands the significant Sacrament of Holy Baptism, in which the Christian Soldier is formally and publicly committed to this twofold warfare. You remember the sternly suggestive words of the Baptismal Vow :

Dost thou renounce the devil and all his works, the vain pomp and glory of the world, with all covetous desires of the same, and the carnal desires of the flesh, so that thou wilt not follow, nor be led by them ?

I renounce them all.

4. It may, perhaps, not be superfluous to observe that the Christian view is powerfully supplemented by modern science. There is a suggestively close parallel between the old theological doctrine of original sin and modern scientific theories of heredity ; between the traditional Christian teaching about "THE SIN OF THE WORLD" and modern sociological language with respect to "environment" ; between the old ecclesiastical insistence on discipline and the modern reformer's emphasis on education. Heredity, environment, education are by universal consent potent factors in the process by which individual character is shaped. These, in the view of the Christian, receive a moral deepening, and fit into a spiritual theory. They point to the need of caution, of self-limitation, of personal discipline. They interpret to him the stern language of ST. PAUL : "KNOW YE NOT THAT THEY WHICH RUN IN A RACE RUN ALL, BUT ONE RECEIVETH THE PRIZE? EVEN SO RUN THAT YE MAY ATTAIN. AND EVERY MAN THAT STRIVETH IN THE GAMES IS TEMPERATE IN ALL THINGS. NOW THEY DO IT TO RECEIVE A CORRUPTIBLE CROWN ; BUT WE AN INCORRUPTIBLE. I THEREFORE SO RUN, AS NOT UNCERTAINLY ; SO FIGHT I, AS NOT BEATING THE AIR : BUT I BUFFET MY BODY, AND BRING IT INTO

BONDAGE: LEST BY ANY MEANS, AFTER THAT I HAVE PREACHED TO OTHERS, I MYSELF SHOULD BE REJECTED."

5. There is in fact an ascetic element in sincere Christianity, which superstition may exaggerate and abuse, but which prudence dares not ignore or belittle. It is rooted deeply in the Teaching of the LORD Himself: it is emphasized in the Apostolic writings: it has never ceased to find championship in the Christian Church. It is the proper subject of Lenten thought and teaching. Sin is always also a bondage: therefore sinners can only become free by "A WAR OF INDEPENDENCE" against themselves. Our SAVIOUR made use of a very stern metaphor when HE spoke of sensual sin, the conquest of which might seem to imply something parallel to a deliberate self-mutilation, so deeply does such sin grow into the nature, and infect the whole temperament of the sinner. It is good for us to ponder well the words of the Sermon on the Mount: "YE HAVE HEARD THAT IT WAS SAID, THOU SHALT NOT COMMIT ADULTERY: BUT I SAY UNTO YOU, THAT EVERY ONE THAT LOOKETH ON A WOMAN TO LUST AFTER HER HATH COMMITTED ADULTERY WITH HER ALREADY IN HIS HEART." Thus the Divine MASTER insists on a

very thorough searching of our hearts, not suffering us to stop, as we are eager to do, at the boundary line between intention and achievement, thought and act, but pushing HIS claim inwards until the very secret places of the spirit have been explored, and the unchaste thought has been drawn into judgment. Mark how HE proceeds : " AND IF THY RIGHT EYE CAUSETH THEE TO STUMBLE, PLUCK IT OUT, AND CAST IT FROM THEE : FOR IT IS PROFITABLE FOR THEE THAT ONE OF THY MEMBERS SHOULD PERISH, AND NOT THY WHOLE BODY BE CAST INTO HELL. AND IF THY RIGHT HAND CAUSETH THEE TO STUMBLE, CUT IT OFF, AND CAST IT FROM THEE : FOR IT IS PROFITABLE FOR THEE THAT ONE OF THY MEMBERS SHOULD PERISH, AND NOT THY WHOLE BODY GO INTO HELL." The language is figurative : but figurative language is not unmeaning or unimportant. What must we understand by such figures as these? The EYE and the HAND, that which gives beauty and charm, and that which enables work, the social gifts and the practical powers—these may be so twisted into the service of impurity that escape will only be possible by flight from society, and change of normal occupation. " LEAD US NOT INTO TEMPTATION " is a solemnly significant petition, and we are bidden constantly

to have it on our lips. Nothing may come before our personal salvation, because until this supreme interest has been secured we are not competent to put our hand to the plough of redemptive service. There is a shallow manner of speech too common among us which obscures this stern and unpalatable truth. It is shallow, though it has excuses in the narrowness of the dogma against which it was originally directed. We speak lightly of concern for our own salvation, and affect to be more interested in the salvation of others. But the only salvation which is worth having is salvation from the empire of sin, and until we have gained that, we cannot help to release others. This unwelcome truth was also proclaimed by the MASTER. He warned HIS disciples against fussing about other people's improvement before they had made sure that their own hearts were right. "HOW WILT THOU SAY TO THY BROTHER, LET ME CAST OUT THE MOTE OUT OF THINE EYE? AND LO, THE BEAM IS IN THINE OWN EYE. THOU HYPOCRITE, CAST OUT FIRST THE BEAM OUT OF THINE OWN EYE, AND THEN SHALT THOU SEE CLEARLY TO CAST OUT THE MOTE OUT OF THY BROTHER'S EYE."

6. How shall we secure our liberty from betraying us into bondage? How shall we live in the

world "AS FREE, AND NOT USING OUR FREEDOM FOR A CLOKE OF WICKEDNESS, BUT AS BOND-SERVANTS OF GOD"? How shall we form such a habit of self-criticism as to escape the pitfall of such self-deluding hypocrisy as CHRIST rebuked? Such are the questions, I apprehend, which we are most required to reflect upon at this Lenten season. We shall not have gone far in our consideration of them before we find ourselves confronted by the demands which the Church's formal discipline makes upon us. None of the three great expressions of Religion—Prayer, Fasting, Almsgiving—can safely or rightly be left out of the scheme of the Christian's life. They correspond to his threefold obligation to God, to himself, to his neighbour, which is summed up in the Christian's Duty. These essential obligations, perhaps, have an uninviting aspect. We are accustomed to connect religion far too closely with more sublime and extraordinary expressions—the ardours of "conversion," the ecstasies of worship, inward assurances, far visions of truth, even mighty works of Faith—and we are required to see it essentially here in these nearer, more accessible, more commonplace and elementary obligations of prayer, fasting, and almsgiving, a heart given humbly to GOD in daily self-oblation, a Self kept

under by daily discipline, an intercourse with others filled with willing service rendered always in the cycles of familiar duty. "MIND NOT HIGH THINGS," says ST. PAUL, "BUT CONDESCEND TO THINGS THAT ARE LOWLY." The words of the hymn utter the core of Christian Morality :

If on our daily course our mind
Be set to hallow all we find,
New treasures still, of countless price,
GOD will provide for sacrifice.

The trivial round, the common task,
Will furnish all we need to ask,
Room to deny ourselves, a road
To bring us daily nearer GOD.

7. "ALL THINGS ARE LAWFUL FOR ME : BUT I WILL NOT BE BROUGHT UNDER THE POWER OF ANY"—there is a silent enslaving process inherent in our quiet life of easeful habit, which we may ignore or even deny, but which none the less brings to us sometimes our worst spiritual danger. As the moss grows over the unmoving stone, and the rust gathers on the unused weapon, so the lethargy of custom creeps over the spirit, and slowly saps its vital forces. Temptation (sudden, unprepared for, irresistible) discloses the measure of the havoc which has been silently wrought. We ought to be on the look-out for the first beginnings of discrepancy

between our beliefs and our behaviour. We ought to make sure that our conscience is kept vigilantly at its proper task of criticising our conduct. Sometimes, as for instance when we study the history of the eighteenth century, we are amazed at the acquiescence of Christian men in wrongs and abuses which, as we look back on them, seem to us wholly intolerable. How, we ask, could men who acknowledged JESUS CHRIST as their LORD, and HIS Example as their Law of Life, have been content to let such things go on, and even make their personal profit out of them? Perhaps the answer lies in this morally enervating power of easeful custom. In exercising their liberty they had forgotten the requirement of their own nature. They had become enslaved with the claim to freedom on their lips.

Verily life's chains are strong to bind,
From morn till eve, from youth to age,
Body and Mind.

“WHEREFORE HE SAITH, AWAKE, THOU THAT SLEEPEST, AND ARISE FROM THE DEAD, AND CHRIST SHALL SHINE UPON THEE.”

8. GOD is calling us to self-examination by the solemn events which are proceeding around us. We are living in a time of sudden, violent, and extreme change. The face of the world is altering beyond

recognition, and we can hardly keep count of the alterations. Living here in an island wonderfully protected, most of us can realize with difficulty, if at all, the revolution in all the circumstances of life which has happened over a great part of Europe. In Belgium, in a large part of France, in Poland, in Western Russia, in Serbia and Montenegro, already the wave of War has rushed over society, bringing death and desolation. Wealth has been changed to poverty, joy to misery, comfort to limitless sorrow. The world, which but yesterday seemed so smiling and settled, has been touched by the Magician's Wand, and is all dark and ruinous. On ourselves as yet the heaviest stroke has not fallen: yet even in England there is widespread bereavement and distress, and there will certainly be much more of both before the Tragedy has been played out. All this blends with the Lenten Message of the Church, and calls us to a sternly honest self-examination. How far are we ourselves bound up with, bound into, our present ways of life? Supposing all were suddenly changed, and we too were stripped of our possessions, and sent adrift into the world, should we be like men bewildered and undone, heart-broken and helpless? Should we find it a well-nigh impossible thing to change our way of living? In a

word, How far are we really free? How far have our habits brought us into slavery? Are we indeed, as we like to think, the masters of our circumstances, or the slaves? Perhaps the crisis of the War may compel us to answer these questions. Would it not be well that we should have faced them beforehand? Could we say with ST. PAUL: "I HAVE LEARNED, IN WHATSOEVER STATE I AM, THEREIN TO BE CONTENT. I KNOW HOW TO BE ABASED, AND I KNOW ALSO HOW TO ABOUND: IN EVERYTHING AND IN ALL THINGS HAVE I LEARNED THE SECRET BOTH TO BE FILLED AND TO BE HUNGRY, BOTH TO ABOUND AND TO BE IN WANT. I CAN DO ALL THINGS IN HIM THAT STRENGTHENETH ME"? The man who can sincerely say that has mastered the problem, and possesses the joy, of Christian Liberty.

VI

CHRISTIAN LIBERTY¹

SO SPEAK YE, AND SO DO, AS MEN THAT ARE TO BE JUDGED BY A LAW OF LIBERTY.—*St. James* ii. 12.

I. TURN back to the first chapter of this epistle, and you read these words: "BUT HE THAT LOOKETH INTO THE PERFECT LAW, THE LAW OF LIBERTY, AND SO CONTINUETH, BEING NOT A HEARER THAT FORGETTETH, BUT A DOER THAT WORKETH, THIS MAN SHALL BE BLESSED IN HIS DOING." Probably we may trace ST. JAMES'S language to his recollection of the Words of JESUS, spoken years before in that great discourse which we call "the Sermon on the Mount." "THINK NOT," said the LORD, "THAT I CAME TO DESTROY THE LAW OR THE PROPHETS: I CAME NOT TO DESTROY BUT TO FULFIL." At that time, and for long after, the "BRETHREN OF

¹ Preached in Durham Cathedral on Palm Sunday, April 16, 1916, at Evensong.

THE LORD," among whom was ST. JAMES, had been unbelievers in CHRIST'S Divine Mission, and we may be sure that their incredulity was mainly built on the repugnance which was provoked in their minds by the seemingly anarchic character and tendency of CHRIST'S Teaching. They were, we know, very devout Jews, devoted to the observances of their Fathers, and bred in the Pharisaic tradition. Even after his conversion ST. JAMES continued to live as a Jew, being constant in his attendance at the Temple services, and winning respect among his Jewish contemporaries by his formal piety. We can easily understand, therefore, how offensive to him must have been our SAVIOUR'S disregard of the Sabbath-law, HIS neglect of the rules which prohibited social intercourse with "PUBLICANS AND SINNERS," HIS severe strictures on the established modes of prayer, fasting, and almsgiving. Accordingly, this claim of CHRIST to have come "NOT TO DESTROY THE LAW OR THE PROPHETS" must have fastened itself in his memory very firmly, provoking at first indignation and resentment, then moving him to wonder and reflection, finally giving him the Key to CHRIST'S whole Ministry and Teaching. The Gospel, he came to perceive, was not a doctrine of anarchy, as at first in his timorous

prejudice he had supposed, but "THE PERFECT LAW, THE LAW OF LIBERTY."

2. There was much in the Scriptures of his nation which would have assisted ST. JAMES to understand the LORD'S Words. The punctilious ceremonial legalism of the "SCRIBES AND PHARISEES" had really been disallowed in advance by the teaching of the Prophets and Psalmists, who had in many significant passages set in opposition the letter of Law, and its spirit, magnifying always the last, and prophesying of a coming time when it should render the letter superfluous. Thus JEREMIAH had spoken, while yet the Temple of SOLOMON stood on Mount Zion: "THIS IS THE COVENANT THAT I WILL MAKE WITH THE HOUSE OF ISRAEL AFTER THOSE DAYS, SAITH THE LORD; I WILL PUT MY LAW IN THEIR INWARD PARTS, AND IN THEIR HEART WILL I WRITE IT; AND I WILL BE THEIR GOD, AND THEY SHALL BE MY PEOPLE: AND THEY SHALL TEACH NO MORE EVERY MAN HIS NEIGHBOUR, AND EVERY MAN HIS BROTHER, SAYING, KNOW THE LORD: FOR THEY SHALL ALL KNOW ME, FROM THE LEAST OF THEM UNTO THE GREATEST OF THEM, SAITH THE LORD" (Jer. xxxi. 33, 34). The Psalmists, living often in circumstances which compelled them to see Religion severed from

its formal and time-honoured observances, had grasped the difference of literal and spiritual obedience to law, and gave frequent expression to it in their writings. Take for sufficient example the 119th Psalm, with its sustained note of exultant joy in obedience, of genuine love for the Divine Law: "I WILL WALK AT LIBERTY, FOR I HAVE SOUGHT THY STATUTES," and again, "OH HOW I LOVE THY LAW! IT IS MY MEDITATION ALL THE DAY." The Psalmist perceives that in willing obedience to law lies the attainment of true freedom: that he is able to obey in proportion to his possession of liberty: "I WILL RUN THE WAY OF THY COMMANDMENTS WHEN THOU HAST SET MY HEART AT LIBERTY." In a word, Religion had resolved itself for the Psalmists as for ST. JAMES into "THE PERFECT LAW, THE LAW OF LIBERTY." Obedience became for them a willing co-operation with the purpose for which the Law was enacted, a sympathetic insight into the Lawgiver's Mind, a conscious effort to express it. Accordingly, CHRIST, standing in the succession of the Prophets and Psalmists, and crowning their witness, demands, not a neglect of Law, but a higher kind of obedience. To exhibit, and to propagate, contempt for Law is, in the view of CHRIST, a grave sin. For Law in its essential

character as the expression of GOD'S Will is eternal and immutable; and positive laws, the symbols of that Divine Will, can claim from the Christian a measure of respect, even though they can no longer claim to be anything more than symbolic. See how the whole Teaching coheres: "THINK NOT THAT I CAME TO DESTROY THE LAW OR THE PROPHETS. I CAME NOT TO DESTROY, BUT TO FULFIL. FOR VERILY I SAY UNTO YOU, TILL HEAVEN AND EARTH PASS AWAY, ONE JOT OR ONE TITTLE SHALL IN NO WISE PASS AWAY FROM THE LAW TILL ALL THINGS BE ACCOMPLISHED. WHOSOEVER THEREFORE SHALL BREAK ONE OF THESE LEAST COMMANDMENTS, AND SHALL TEACH MEN SO, SHALL BE CALLED LEAST IN THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN: BUT WHOSOEVER SHALL DO AND TEACH THEM, HE SHALL BE CALLED GREAT IN THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN. FOR I SAY UNTO YOU, THAT EXCEPT YOUR RIGHTEOUSNESS SHALL EXCEED THE RIGHTEOUSNESS OF THE SCRIBES AND PHARISEES, YE SHALL IN NO WISE ENTER INTO THE KINGDOM OF HEAVEN."

3. Some of the Fathers argued mechanically that, since Jews were required by the Law to give a tithe of their possessions to religion, Christians

("WHOSE RIGHTEOUSNESS MUST EXCEED THAT OF THE SCRIBES AND PHARISEES") were bound to give more: but in so arguing they seem to miss the point. The difference between a Legal and a Spiritual Religion consists, not in the larger claims which the latter imposes on the individual, but in the higher level at which he is required to live. You cannot stake out the limits of charitable obligation in the case of the Christian: he cannot say when he has paid his fixed quota (be it one-tenth or any larger fraction of his income), My task is done: the claim of charity is satisfied. CHRIST insists on another point of view from which to consider the claim of neighbourly duty. HE takes the summary of the Second Table from the Old Testament, and makes it the formula of HIS own demand: "THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOUR AS THYSELF." When the neighbour is looked at in that spirit, then duty towards him is determined, not by some fixed rule imposed from without, but by the measure of his need, and our power to assist it. What holds true of the duty of practical charity holds true also of all other constituents of Christian Duty. There is no prescript law which can dispense with the action of the individual conscience, and lay down for the Christian, Where his obligation ends,

and What it requires. No : he is called to live in the spirit of CHRIST, and to bring all his actions into conformity with CHRIST'S version of Duty. "YE SHALL KNOW THE TRUTH, AND THE TRUTH SHALL MAKE YOU FREE," HE said. "WHERE THE SPIRIT OF THE LORD IS THERE IS LIBERTY," says ST. PAUL, not liberty from the obligation to serve and to sacrifice, but release from the dislike of service and sacrifice which makes the obligation odious. "THE LAW OF THE SPIRIT OF LIFE IN CHRIST JESUS," says the Apostle, "MADE ME FREE FROM THE LAW OF SIN AND OF DEATH." "What led ST. JAMES to call the Gospel ■ law of Liberty?" asks DR. MAYOR, and thus he makes answer : "Clearly he must mean by it a law not enforced by compulsion from without, but freely accepted as expressing the desire and aim of the subject of it." "What is liberty?" asked CICERO, and answered well :

It is the power of living as thou willest. But who lives as he wills to live save he who follows what is right, who takes pleasure in his duty, who obeys the laws, not because he dreads the penalties of disobedience, but rather follows and reveres the laws because he judges such behaviour to be sound for him in the highest sense.

The great Stoic, SENECA, said grandly, *In*

regno nati sumus: DEO parere libertas est, "We have been born into a Kingdom: our Liberty consists in obedience to GOD." Our own Prayer Book echoes the philosopher's thought when it says that the Service of GOD is "perfect freedom."

4. Perhaps the best commentary on our text is WORDSWORTH'S "Ode to Duty," which I offer to you as an admirable summary of the thesis which in these Sermons I have been concerned with. He sets in contrast the false liberty of unchecked caprice, and the true liberty which is rooted in obedience to a Law of Right, which is loved and appropriated and understood.

I, loving freedom, and untried ;
No sport of every random gust,
Yet being to myself a guide,
Too blindly have reposed my trust :
And oft, when in my heart was heard
Thy timely mandate, I deferred
The task, in smoother walks to stray ;
But THEE I now would serve more strictly, if I may.

Through no disturbance of my soul,
Or strong compunction in me wrought,
I supplicate for THY control ;
But in the quietness of thought :
*Me this unchartered freedom tires ;
I feel the weight of chance desires :
My hopes no more must change their name,
I long for a repose that ever is the same.*

Then follows this remarkable stanza, which appears only in the edition of 1807, being omitted for some reason unknown from the later editions :

Yet not the less would I throughout
Still act according to the voice
Of my own wish ; and feel past doubt
That my submissiveness was choice :
Not seeking in the school of pride
For "precepts over dignified,"
Denial and restraint I prize

No farther than they breed a second Will more wise.

WORDSWORTH had more in mind than the facility in right action which a custom or habit of virtuous conduct can bestow, and which may be described not inaptly as freedom. It is comparable with the easy action of the muscles which rewards the athlete for his arduous and long-continued training. SHAKESPEARE, that incomparable master of the whole range of human experience, has described this influence of custom, and indicated its non-moral character, when he represents HAMLET as urging the guiltily complaisant Queen to break off a relationship, familiar and convenient, but at the same time dishonourable and degrading :

Assume a virtue, if you have it not.
That monster, CUSTOM, who all sense doth eat,
Of habits devil, is angel yet in this,
That to the use of actions fair and good

He likewise gives a frock or livery,
That aptly is put on. Refrain to-night,
And that shall lend a kind of easiness
To the next abstinence ; the next more easy ;
For use almost can change the stamp of nature.

WORDSWORTH meant more than such a custom, as shall make right action the easy "use and wont" of the individual. He meant rather a deliberate approval of Virtue, a steady loyalty to Goodness, a Love of GOD'S Law, a willing service which is felt to be "perfect freedom." ST. PAUL sums up the doctrine of the "Ode to Duty" in the terse and tremendous sentence: "TO ME TO LIVE IS CHRIST."

5. Now it is sufficiently obvious that the Christian conception of Religion as "A LAW OF LIBERTY," that is, a Law to be obeyed rather in the spirit than in the letter, lends itself to a very easy misunderstanding, and has been in point of fact very frequently abused in the interest of spiritual arrogance and moral licence. For men will eagerly adopt its comparative indifference to positive rules, who have no real concern for the purpose which those rules were designed to serve. In the sixteenth century, for example, when the elaborate system of Medieval Discipline was being discarded, for one Protestant who ate flesh in Lent because his habitual

self-control set him above any need of the old Lenten abstinence, there were scores who did so because they were glad of a decent excuse for indulging their appetite. Similarly, in our own day, when the old severity of Sunday Observance is generally being challenged, for one Christian who gives up church-going because he has attained such an eminence of spiritual excellence that he needs no help from the common worship and the public teaching, there are hundreds who are glad of an excuse for devoting themselves without hindrance to secular concerns. There is a self-deluding tendency within us all which we ought never to ignore, the presence of which ought to make us exceedingly mistrustful of any religious argument, however apparently lofty, which gives us an excuse for doing something which (without its assistance) we are strongly disposed to do. On several occasions recently I have myself been warmly thanked for opposing Prohibition by men who had clearly been drinking excessively. Drunkenness differs from most other sins in being very noticeable, and perhaps this circumstance has drawn too large a measure of attention to it. Too large, I mean, by comparison with the attention given to other faults which are not inferior in moral turpitude. Not to

multiply instances, let it suffice to say that we, who would understand what is meant by "A LAW OF LIBERTY," and who desire to live in the world as free men, are beyond all others bound to be rigorously honest with ourselves in respect of our treatment of positive rules, and to make sure that, if we do break the "LETTER" of the Law, we do so because only so can we rightly serve the purpose or "SPIRIT" of the Law.

6. "SO SPEAK YE, AND SO DO, AS MEN THAT ARE TO BE JUDGED BY A LAW OF LIBERTY." "It will be a deeper-going judgment than that of man, for it will not stop short at particular precepts or even at the outward act, whatever it may be, but will penetrate to the temper and motive" (MAYOR). We are to be "JUDGED BY A LAW OF LIBERTY," that is, judged as men who are properly free and responsible agents, not mere slaves or machines. In your exercise of Liberty, were you really bringing yourself into bondage? In your obedience to Law, were you really vindicating your Liberty? "JUDGED" we must be, and judged on this principle. If Religion were indeed, as the Heathen supposed, as perhaps men always are tempted to suppose, an affair of formal obediences, so many Sacraments received, so many Sacrifices offered, so many

Penances performed, so many Satisfactions rendered, why then our course would be clear. We would keep accurate reckoning, and make sure that the full tale of obligation was satisfied: but such a religion would be a mere business, a ledger keeping of Man with his Maker. That cannot be the Religion of Free Men: that by no conceivable device can be transformed into a "LAW OF LIBERTY." It is of all such mechanical service that the Prophet wrote so sternly: "YOUR NEW MOONS AND YOUR APPOINTED FEASTS MY SOUL HATETH: THEY ARE A TROUBLE UNTO ME; I AM WEARY TO BEAR THEM." Punctilious performance of prescribed duties can never be a substitute for the spontaneous fulfilment of Duty. Duties will come into life as incidental to Duty, but they can be wholly distinct from it. "THESE OUGHT YE TO HAVE DONE, AND NOT TO HAVE LEFT THE OTHER UNDONE," said CHRIST to the scrupulous Pharisees "WHO STRAINED OUT THE GNAT, AND SWALLOWED THE CAMEL." All turns on the point of view, on the temper, on the direction, on the ideal. These give colour to the action, and significance to the life. Free men are judged by a higher standard than slaves; they must abide a sterner inquisition. For they could know what their failures and treasons

implied: they could only break "THE LAW OF LIBERTY" by accepting bondage. Of them, as of the Chosen People, which made "the Great Refusal," it must be said that "THEY LOVED DARKNESS RATHER THAN LIGHT BECAUSE THEIR DEEDS WERE EVIL."

VII

THE ETERNITY IN MEN'S HEARTS¹

HE HATH SET ETERNITY IN THEIR HEART.—*Ecclesiastes* iii. 11.

CHRIST IN YOU, THE HOPE OF GLORY.—*Colossians* i. 27.

I. TWO infinitely suggestive sentences, the one from the most depressing and earth-bound writer of the Old Testament, the other from the most inspiring and heavenly writer of the New, combine to point a paradoxical Truth, which on Easter Day finds its supreme verification. The Preacher of Israel and the Apostle PAUL were widely sundered in temperament, in circumstance, in religious point of view, yet they come together in the assertion of man's super-temporal nature. Both find in the human heart a witness of Immortality. The older Thinker uses an impersonal mode of speech, the later casts his thought into an affectionately personal form, but the core of the declaration is the same.

¹ Preached in Durham Cathedral on Easter Day, April 23, 1916, at the Eucharist.

Man, says the one, has "ETERNITY" in his heart : the Christian, says the other, has "CHRIST IN HIM, THE HOPE OF GLORY." On Easter Day that inner Witness to the Divineness and Immortality of Man is richly verified in the Resurrection of the SON OF MAN from the Dead. The worship of Easter is Triumph and Thanksgiving : "BLESSED BE THE GOD AND FATHER OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST, WHO ACCORDING TO HIS GREAT MERCY BEGAT US AGAIN UNTO A LIVING HOPE BY THE RESURRECTION OF JESUS CHRIST FROM THE DEAD."

2. Students of human nature fall broadly into two categories. There are those, such as MONTAIGNE and DEAN SWIFT, who look mainly, and even exclusively, at its baser features ; and there are those, like EPICTETUS and our greater modern novelists, who look rather on its nobler. Severe and kindly judges alike admit the existence of both, but they differ in the place they assign to the one or the other, and determine thus their final verdict on Man. In the remarkable sentence which I have taken from Ecclesiastes the Writer takes his stand, if but for the moment, with those who reverence, and parts company from those who despise, the Nature of Man. Very justly has DELITZSCH observed that "this saying regarding the *desiderium*

aeternitatis, the yearning of eternity, being planted in the heart of man is one of the profoundest utterances of the Preacher."

We can hardly be surprised, considering the main drift of the Book, that many scholars have doubted whether indeed the passage can be rightly rendered in this spiritual way. It would seem, however, that the majority adopt this rendering which appears in the margin of the Revised Version, and therefore I have not hesitated to adopt it. The sense thus conveyed, though less obvious, is far more profound than the other. If we read the whole passage, we can see how wonderfully suggestive it is: "I HAVE SEEN THE TRAVAIL WHICH GOD HATH GIVEN TO THE SONS OF MEN TO BE EXERCISED THEREWITH. HE HATH MADE EVERYTHING BEAUTIFUL IN ITS TIME: ALSO HE HATH SET ETERNITY IN THEIR HEART, YET SO THAT MAN CANNOT FIND OUT THE WORK THAT GOD HATH DONE FROM THE BEGINNING EVEN TO THE END." On Man rests the shadow of an unsatisfied longing to outpass the strait limits of the life which is all he can securely count upon. He is in an ordered Universe which for ever traverses the cycle of its ordained destiny, and he knows himself to be part of it, yet he, and

he alone, chafes against the limitations of his lot, and stretches out inevitably, yet to all appearance uselessly, towards a larger life, freer and more lasting than this. He passes to the Grave with "ETERNITY IN HIS HEART"! The Preacher perceives the paradox of man's nature, but he cannot interpret it: so he registers the fact, and, as if in despair, draws a conclusion which the fact itself disallows: "I KNOW THAT THERE IS NOTHING BETTER FOR MEN, THAN TO REJOICE, AND TO DO GOOD SO LONG AS THEY LIVE. AND ALSO THAT EVERY MAN SHOULD EAT AND DRINK, AND ENJOY GOOD IN ALL HIS LABOUR, IS THE GIFT OF GOD." This programme of earthly felicity, bounded by the Grave, is an implicit repudiation of the spiritual witness within man's heart, which is left therefore as an inexplicable enigma, certain but practically futile.

3. Some of you will have seen the remarkably suggestive little volume recently published by the Poet Laureate, the character and purpose of which are sufficiently disclosed by the title: *The Spirit of Man, an Anthology in English and French from the Philosophers and Poets, made by the Poet Laureate in 1915*. In a brief but invaluable Preface the compiler points out the true significance of the human

achievement which he has brought together into a single view, and distributed under the main themes with which it is concerned.

"The main implication is essential," he says, "namely, that *spirituality is the basis and foundation of human life* . . . rather than the apex or final attainment of it. *It must underlie everything.* To put it briefly, *man is a spiritual being*, and the proper work of his mind is to interpret the world according to his higher nature, and to conquer the material aspects of the world so as to bring them into subjection to the spirit."

What is this but a modern affirmation of the Preacher's dictum, "HE HATH SET ETERNITY IN THEIR HEART"?

MR. BRIDGES goes on to indicate the motive which has led him to undertake the considerable labour of this compilation. It is the afflicting perception of the greatness of the tragedy which now enwraps the world, and which might even shake from their self-respect all who are not able to rise above the mere horror of the spectacle.

The progress of mankind on the path of liberty and humanity has been suddenly arrested and its promise discredited by the apostasy of a great people, who, casting off as a disguise their professions of Honour, now openly avow that the ultimate faith of their hearts is in material force.

After elaborating the indictment against Germany and dwelling on the portentous unanimity of the whole people in the "great scheme of tyranny" which the Rulers of the German Empire have launched on the world, he proceeds :

From the consequent miseries, the insensate and interminable slaughter, the hate and filth, we can turn to seek comfort only in the quiet confidence of our souls ; and we look instinctively to the seers and poets of mankind, whose sayings are the oracles and prophecies of loveliness and lovingkindness. Common diversions divert us no longer ; our habits and thoughts are searched by the glare of the conviction that man's life is not the ease that a peace-loving generation has found it or thought to make it, but the awful conflict with evil which philosophers and saints have depicted ; and it is in their abundant testimony to the good and beautiful that we find support for our faith, and distraction from a grief that is intolerable constantly to face, nay, impossible to face without that trust in God which makes all things possible.

He reviews the fearful conflict which is now desolating the world and casting shadows of bereavement on countless homes, and thus concludes :

We can therefore be happy in our sorrows, happy even in the death of our beloved who fall in the fight ; for they die nobly, as heroes and saints die, with hearts and hands unstained by hatred and wrong.

Salute the sacred dead,
Who went and who return not.—Say not so !

We rather seem the dead, that stayed behind.
 Blow, trumpets, all your exultations blow !
 For never shall their aureoled presence lack—
 They come transfigured back,
 Secure from change in their high-hearted ways,
 Beautiful evermore, and with the rays
 Of morn on their white shields of expectation.

“HE HATH SET ETERNITY IN THEIR HEARTS,”
 and the fierce crisis has revealed the secret splendour
 which before they had hardly dared to know.

4. The Poet Laureate, I submit, has rendered a
 signal service to Faith in this dark time by thus
 boldly claiming as its witnesses those who, under
 many descriptions, and sometimes strangely disguised
 as the enemies of Religion, have demonstrated both
 the insatiable hunger of the human spirit, and its
 time-transcending power. He might fitly have
 closed his Anthology with the words of that inspired
 writer, the Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews,
 who, himself also living in a time of great trouble
 and perplexity, was led to comfort his brethren by
 an appeal, which, though more limited in reference,
 and specifically religious in form, is essentially
 identical with his own: “THESE ALL DIED IN
 FAITH, NOT HAVING RECEIVED THE PROMISES, BUT
 HAVING SEEN THEM AND GREETED THEM FROM
 AFAR, AND HAVING CONFESSED THAT THEY WERE

STRANGERS AND PILGRIMS ON THE EARTH. FOR THEY THAT SAY SUCH THINGS MAKE IT MANIFEST THAT THEY ARE SEEKING AFTER A COUNTRY OF THEIR OWN. AND IF INDEED THEY HAD BEEN MINDFUL OF THAT COUNTRY FROM WHICH THEY WENT OUT, THEY WOULD HAVE HAD OPPORTUNITY TO RETURN. BUT NOW THEY DESIRE A BETTER COUNTRY, THAT IS, A HEAVENLY: WHEREFORE GOD IS NOT ASHAMED OF THEM, TO BE CALLED THEIR GOD: FOR HE HATH PREPARED FOR THEM A CITY."

5. Turn now to the words of ST. PAUL. He is writing to Gentile believers in a strain of extraordinary exaltation, and he dwells on the grandeur of his own ministry, in which he exults so much as to care nothing for the sorrows and hardships which it had brought to him. The whole passage is so closely knit, and at the same time so enthusiastic, that it cannot be curtailed. In order to take the Apostle's meaning we must read the whole paragraph: "NOW I REJOICE IN MY SUFFERINGS FOR YOUR SAKE, AND FILL UP ON MY PART THAT WHICH IS LACKING OF THE AFFLICTIONS OF CHRIST IN MY FLESH FOR HIS BODY'S SAKE, WHICH IS THE CHURCH: WHEREOF I WAS MADE A MINISTER, ACCORDING TO THE DISPENSATION OF GOD WHICH

WAS GIVEN ME TO YOUWARD, TO FULFIL THE WORD OF GOD, EVEN THE MYSTERY WHICH HATH BEEN HID FROM ALL AGES AND GENERATIONS: BUT NOW HATH IT BEEN MANIFESTED TO HIS SAINTS, TO WHOM GOD WAS PLEASED TO MAKE KNOWN WHAT IS THE RICHES OF THE GLORY OF THIS MYSTERY AMONG THE GENTILES, WHICH IS CHRIST IN YOU, THE HOPE OF GLORY: WHOM WE PROCLAIM, ADMONISHING EVERY MAN, AND TEACHING EVERY MAN IN ALL WISDOM, THAT WE MAY PRESENT EVERY MAN PERFECT IN CHRIST." The passage glows with an ardour of conviction, and a consciousness of Divine Commission, which have no parallel in the melancholy pages of the Preacher, and it discloses a moral standard which is infinitely higher than the limited and earth-bound programme which forms the conclusion of the Preacher's argument. What is the difference between the earlier Thinker and the later? Surely it is summed up in the Truth which we proclaim on Easter Day. Ecclesiastes realized "ETERNITY" in his heart, but only as a vague hunger, an unsatisfied yearning, a range of desire which mocked the poverty of his powers and the brevity of his years, a passionate refusal to accept the yoke of Death, from which none the less he

could perceive no escape. ST. PAUL read the great secret of his heart in a nobler way, because he was able to see himself in CHRIST, to find the key of his enigmatic fortunes in the Life of the SON OF MAN. That "ETERNITY IN HIS HEART" was, he knew, the true voice of his nature, and it prophesied truly of his destiny. Death was before him too, but Death was not an end, but an episode, not a crowning and irreparable defeat, but the climax of Victory. The Story of Man, as he can read it now, is not cut short at the Grave, but stretches forward grandly into an illimitable Future, for CHRIST has traversed the whole cycle, passing through "the grave and gate of Death" into Life Supreme, Unending, Triumphant. "O DEATH, WHERE IS THY VICTORY? O DEATH, WHERE IS THY STING? THE STING OF DEATH IS SIN: AND THE POWER OF SIN IS THE LAW: BUT THANKS BE TO GOD WHICH GIVETH US THE VICTORY THROUGH OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST." With that cry of joyous confidence he turns to the tasks and claims of daily duty, and he sees them all transfigured in the sunlight of his faith. Not the dismal refrain of Ecclesiastes, "VANITY OF VANITIES, ALL IS VANITY," but a brave call to cheerful and unceasing effort. "WHEREFORE, MY BELOVED BRETHREN, BE YE

STEDFAST, UNMOVEABLE, ALWAYS ABOUNDING IN THE WORK OF THE LORD, FORASMUCH AS YE KNOW THAT YOUR LABOUR IS NOT VAIN IN THE LORD." There is the practical conclusion to which the Faith in Immortality leads ST. PAUL.

6. From ST. PAUL, with his exalted conviction, his clear vision of duty, his resolute purpose, his triumphant assurance, his persistent labour, we pass to ourselves (shadowed, perplexed, purposeless, filled with a thousand doubts and fears), and we ask anxiously, whether indeed such faith as his can ever be possible for modern Christians. Ecclesiastes, rather than ST. PAUL, seems to utter the mind of our generation. We, too many of us, certainly many more than would own the fact, are fairly described in MATTHEW ARNOLD'S lines as

Light half-believers of our casual creeds,
Who never deeply felt, nor clearly willed,
Whose insight never has borne fruit in deeds,
Whose vague resolves never have been fulfilled ;
For whom each year we see
Breeds new beginnings, disappointments new ;
Who hesitate and falter life away,
And lose to-morrow the ground won to-day.

Let us at least make the most of such truth as we can perceive. It is something to realize that we have " ETERNITY IN OUR HEARTS," and to draw the

inevitable inference that nothing short of the Eternal can satisfy such hearts as ours. If, indeed, we face that ultimate truth of our own natures, and with manly resolution strive to make our daily lives harmonious with it, we shall assuredly have advanced far on the Way to Truth. We shall have come into the company of those whom CHRIST declared to be happy: "BLESSED ARE THEY THAT HUNGER AND THIRST AFTER RIGHTEOUSNESS: FOR THEY SHALL BE FILLED."

7. It is surely not unimportant to notice that ST. PAUL'S summary of the Gospel, which he preached as "CHRIST IN YOU THE HOPE OF GLORY," disallows that critical importance which has been given too often to the acceptance of theological theories. If the core of Christianity be truly such an agreement with the Mind of CHRIST as could fitly be expressed in terms of mystical identification, then the crude anathemas with which the metaphysics of the so-called Athanasian Creed are introduced must be very wide of the mark. Not accurate thinking about theology is the grand essential, still less accurate thinking in terms of ancient metaphysic shaped by ancient controversy, but a sincere inward harmony of our will with HIS, a genuine sympathy with HIS View of life, such an honest following of

HIS Example as is expressed by ST. PAUL'S solemn phrase, "THE FELLOWSHIP OF HIS SUFFERINGS." The reason why formal apologies for Christianity and formal expositions of Christian doctrine have been so unhelpful and ineffective is precisely because they must needs deal with secondary characteristics, and indirect applications of the "TRUTH AS IT IS IN JESUS." They do not stir the conscience, or touch the emotions, or inflame the heart. Like the orthodox and eloquent admonitions of JOB'S friends, they fall without effect on the sorrowful patriarch's ears ; but so soon as the LORD Himself comes on the scene, and, without intervention of human plea, declares the Truth, JOB answers in lowly and heartfelt confession : "I HAD HEARD OF THEE BY THE HEARING OF THE EAR ; BUT NOW MINE EYE SEETH THEE ; WHEREFORE I ABHOR MYSELF, AND REPENT IN DUST AND ASHES." It is this personal touch which is the indispensable preliminary to discipleship, nay, which creates it. There is the "ETERNITY IN MEN'S HEARTS" which must be appealed to, and satisfied, before conviction can dawn on the mind, or purpose master the will.

Therefore, if there be any of us to whom Easter Day with its message of the LORD'S Resurrection brings rather the chill of intellectual perplexity than

the joyous sense of triumphant assurance, let him not think that he has no share in the Festival. Rather let him turn with loving loyalty to the SAVIOUR, as HE comes nearest and clearest to himself—"THE SON OF MAN," in Whom the Eternity within was so paramount that it shone through the veils of time and circumstance, colouring all the Life—and, then, let him give rein to the free inevitable homage of his own heart. Let him realize the full significance of that harmony between the Best in himself and the SAVIOUR'S Mind and Habit. Let him hear the LORD say, "BECAUSE I LIVE YE SHALL LIVE ALSO"; and let him dare to make his own the Doubter's Creed: "MY LORD AND MY GOD."

VIII

THE SECULARIZING OF CHRISTIANITY¹

THEY DO IT TO RECEIVE A CORRUPTIBLE CROWN; BUT WE AN INCORRUPTIBLE.—I *Corinthians* ix. 25.

I. ASCENSIONTIDE brings before us that aspect of our Religion which is least earthly, and, therefore, which is least intelligible and certainly least welcome to our generation. For it is precisely the earthly aspects of Christianity which most attract the regard of modern Christians, and secure their approbation. An eminent modern Preacher, who is also a deep and relentless thinker, the DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S, has called attention to this very solemnly.

Among all the changes which have come over religious and theological teaching within living memory none seems to me so momentous as the acute secularizing of the Christian hope as shown by the practical disappearance of "the other world" from the sermons and writings of those who are most in touch with the thoughts and aspirations of our contemporaries.

¹ Preached in Durham Cathedral on the Sunday after Ascension Day, June 4, 1916, at Mattins.

That this is true cannot, I think, be reasonably contested: that the DEAN'S estimate of its gravity is not excessive I shall attempt to show.

2. It must, indeed, be conceded that a change in the attitude of the Church towards all secular interests was involved in the fading away of the apostolic illusion as to the speedy return of CHRIST, and, consequent thereupon, the end of the world. Slowly experience taught believers that Christianity was destined to enter into the process of history, and, as one constituent of the mingled stream of human life, to fulfil therein its redemptive function. The disciples of CHRIST were not any more to look upon themselves as exiles from the general life of society, but were to take their place in it, and to carry their share of the secular burden. So long as the organized power of society was hostile to Christianity, and inflicted on Christians every form of humiliation and wrong, the full meaning of the change which had passed over Christian conceptions of duty could not be perceived: but with the cessation of the imperial persecutions there was "an acute secularizing" of Christianity. The effect was twofold. On the one hand, the vistas of worldly ambition opened before the Church: on the other hand, a division made itself apparent between the

new secularism and the old severity. The same age witnessed the conversion of CONSTANTINE and the beginnings of organized Monasticism. Two conceptions of Christianity stood out in clear opposition, the secular and the ascetic. A distinction was drawn between the lower standard of Christians living in the world, and the higher standard of Christians living apart from the world. This dualism was destined to strike deep roots, and to produce wide-reaching results. So closely did the Church become associated with the Empire that, in the opinion of Christians themselves, the union was organic and indissoluble. When, therefore, the Empire was finally overthrown in circumstances of dreadful affliction, the Christian citizens were bewildered and despairing. ST. AUGUSTINE wrote his noble treatise, *De Civitate Dei*, in order to reassure them, and to interpret the situation which had thrown them into such distress. The ancient and splendid fabric of Roman Society was not, he tells them, to be confused with the Kingdom of which Christians were citizens. The Fall of Imperial Rome was not, as the pagans plausibly asserted, caused by the abandonment of the old tutelary divinities of the City, but by the extreme vices of its population. That Fall of Rome could not injure

the City of GOD, which had co-existed with the Empire in inviolate though disguised distinctness. The long period, which is sometimes described as "the Dark Ages," witnessed a truly remarkable demonstration of the vitality and independence of Christianity, together with an astonishing example of its acute secularization. Throughout the medieval epoch which followed, the identification of Church and State was theoretically complete, for the careful differentiation of the two in the scheme of Christendom was but a convenient allocation of functions within the undivided and indivisible unity of the whole.

3. While thus the secularizing tendency triumphed in the general system of the Church, its triumph was conditioned by a deepening and extending of the reign of asceticism. Religion had a dark and severe aspect: every movement of medieval piety took the form of a monastic revival: the mendicants, starting with a purely evangelistic ideal, conformed speedily to the general type: in times of distress—famine, plague, war—such as prevailed through great part of the medieval epoch, extravagant forms of ascetic discipline were widely adopted. This double aspect of Christendom gives it a persistent attractiveness to students. The completely secularized Church

preached a frankly ascetical religion. The very word "Religion" meant, not a service of GOD, but a monastic order, and taking the monastic vows was termed going into a religion. With the Renaissance came an acute secularizing, not of the Church (that was secularized already), but of the Religion. The Reformers, however, basing themselves on the New Testament, went behind the prevailing asceticism without yielding to the new secularity; and the deeper movements of Religion within the Protestant churches have had a spiritual, or an evangelical, or a mystical, never an ascetic aspect. Puritanism was no exception, for, though its severe ordering of life might easily suggest the contrary, its principle was never ascetic. This severity of habit was determined partly by the rigorous literalism with which the Scriptures were applied to the government of Christian conduct, and partly, as in the case of the spiritual Puritans represented by BAXTER, by an intense realization of the eschatological doctrine of the New Testament. *The Saints' Everlasting Rest* is not properly an ascetical composition: it is rather a *tour de force* of religious logic arguing from the premisses of the Christian faith about the next world. This brief review will make clear that the secularizing crises of the past have been conditioned

by the external circumstances of Christianity. Persecution, prosperity, dominance, corruption, schism—these have told on the thought and behaviour of Christians. There have been epochs of decline, and of revival: of secularity, and, by a strong reaction, of spirituality: of expansion, and of intension: of strength, and of weakness: of credit, and of shame. Can we add the present crisis to the series, and explain it also as the effect of the Church's external fortunes? or, are there any new features which must lead us to think that we are really confronted by a danger as novel as it is plainly grave?

4. I must confess myself constrained to take the latter view, and for three reasons. First, the new secularity differs in moral claim from all that has preceded it. It claims to be altruistic in motive. To the "Christian Socialist" the hopes and fears born of faith in the life to come are morally beneath his notice. Not in the passion of self-annihilating devotion to the CRUCIFIED, but in the contempt of non-mundane considerations, he says with ST. FRANCIS XAVIER:

My GOD, I love THEE: not because
I hope for heaven thereby,
Nor yet because who love THEE not
Are lost eternally.

Next, the modern advocate of a secularized Christianity claims boldly to be the true interpreter of the Gospel. He would lay hold of the traces of materialized Messianism which may be discovered in the New Testament, and exalt these as the very core of the Christian Revelation. The healing miracles recorded of CHRIST are no longer for him "signs" of the CHRIST'S Power and credentials of HIS Mission, but only so many indications of the secular reference of HIS Redemption. Whatever in the Gospel goes beyond the secular reference is to be discounted as a distortion of it by the ignorant superstition of the disciples. Thirdly, the secularization of Christianity is now connected confessedly with the intellectual revolution of our time. The Christian postulates of individual responsibility, of the Fall of Man, of Redemption, of Judgment, of final Happiness and Misery, are all either blankly denied, or explained away into time-honoured and still serviceable symbols of scientific truths. An altruistic, evangelical, and theological secularism is a new thing in Christian experience, portentous in its suggestiveness, yet nothing less seems now to confront the Church.

5. The practical secularism of Christianity in the past has indeed been defended as a necessary

concession to the demands of life in the world : but the defence has always admitted that the higher and sounder view is that which the "other-worldly" few, whether ascetics as in the Middle Ages, or mystics and Puritans as in more recent times, have adopted deliberately. The secularity of the Christian Hierarchy has always been regarded as scandalous, and a high indifference to worldly advantages been accounted a true mark of the Christian Pastor. Now all this is changed. We are asked to go back on the verdict of historic Christianity, to separate in our thoughts the truth of CHRIST from the virtues of the Saints, to find the Key to our Religion, not in HIS Example "WHO FOR THE JOY THAT WAS SET BEFORE HIM ENDURED THE CROSS, DESPISING SHAME," or in the nearer examples of those heroes of Faith, who, "HAVING CONFESSED THAT THEY WERE PILGRIMS AND STRANGERS ON THE EARTH, DESIRED A BETTER COUNTRY, THAT IS A HEAVENLY," but in the political programme of the Labour Party, or in the larger and longer visions of the Socialists.

6. For my part, I must needs think that this secular version of Christianity fails at every point. Altruistic in pretence, it is materialistic in tendency and effect : it is a grotesque misreading of the Gospel : it implies the destruction of Christianity as

in any coherent sense a Religion. We ought never to forget that human experience has known the effect on temporal life of a disbelief in the Life beyond the grave : that Christianity came into being, in an epoch of despondent and exhausted secularism, as the Religion of Immortality : that it was precisely this faith in "JESUS AND THE RESURRECTION" which "OVERCAME THE WORLD," and quickened the best elements of human character. The dismal cynicism of the ancients had gone ever with a hardening of heart and a debasement of morals which stamped on society the distinctive marks of cruelty and lust. That lesson from the earliest age of Christian experience has been confirmed before our own eyes. At the Renaissance, notably in Italy, the old half-conquered paganism regained for a while its authority, and displaced the "other-worldly" convictions of Christianity by the secular fervours of pre-Christian society. The result is notorious. Italy became the synonym for cynical profligacy, and the seducer of the nations. Later still in France the attempt to cut civilization off from its connection with Christian Faith has led to the same consequences. At this moment the civilized World is at death-grips with the scientific Paganism of Prussia, certifying its character by the old tokens of brutal cruelty and a

swinish sensuality. Thus the lesson of the past is repeated and emphasized in the present. The spread of secularism has been accompanied by sinister demonstrations of moral decline. Wherever we turn our gaze, the fact stares us in the face, that the concentration of human minds and hearts on material ends blunts the conscience, kills the generous sympathies, and stimulates every selfish instinct.

7. A secular version of Christianity involves a radical misunderstanding of the Gospel. Everywhere in the New Testament the future life is brought to bear as an inspiration or as a warning upon the life present. Eternal Life is ever represented as a prize to be gained by a process of moral advance, which itself implies effort, self-discipline, the communication of power from GOD. Thus the Life Beyond is already a possession of the faithful Christian, who, by virtue of his discipleship, is in contact with the Divine Source of Life. "HE THAT BELIEVETH HATH ETERNAL LIFE." It is such a possession as implies future fulness of life. What here is rudimentary, partial, as it were intermittent, is there destined to become complete, constant, and perpetual. If this hope be withdrawn, all meaning and power die out of the prophetic movements of the human spirit, and it falls back despondently from

its own Ideal. Our LORD'S Challenge becomes a bitter satire, not an inspiring appeal, if indeed the curtain that falls at death be the token of annihilation: "WHAT SHALL A MAN BE PROFITED IF HE SHALL GAIN THE WHOLE WORLD, AND FORFEIT HIS LIFE? OR WHAT SHALL A MAN GIVE IN EXCHANGE FOR HIS LIFE?" What indeed? for the world that may be gained cannot even sustain over us its deluding glamour for the brief space of our stay on earth; and yet, if there be indeed nothing hereafter, what reason is there to clothe with supreme authority that inner protest of the spirit proclaiming the validity of hopes and fears which have no reference to the world? It is not the stimulus of eternal bribes that the human spirit demands, but the assurance that its upward aspirations are not the progeny of night-born fancy, deluding wraiths of hollow hope, but indeed homing instincts directed towards the Truth, and that its earth-disdaining faith is destined to be finally sustained. That conviction, and that alone, can nerve the human spirit for its warfare. That makes it possible to bear up against the steady pressures of unkindly fortune, and to face the final mystery with calm assurance:

No coward soul is mine,

No trembler in the world's storm-troubled sphere:

I see Heaven's glories shine,
And faith shines equal, arming me from fear.

Take away that conviction of the reality of the higher life, the validity of its claim, the destined fulfilment of its hope, and what is left to direct, or sustain, or uplift us? All moral failure is bound upon us by the spiritual suicide implied in materialism :

In tragic life, GOD wot,
No villain need be ! Passions spin the plot :
We are betrayed by what is false within.

8. Not only is the secular version of Christianity disallowed by the teaching and example of CHRIST and HIS Apostles, as every page of the New Testament affirms clearly, but, were it conceivably otherwise, Christianity as a Religion could not possibly survive the repudiation of its "other-worldly" hopes. What is the irreducible demand which every Religion must satisfy? Is it not precisely the answering of the ancient and insistent questions of the human spirit as to its own origin, and essence, and destiny? Men do not go to the Gospel for the services which they may better hope to receive from the men of science, the economists, the statesmen. For all that may beautify the place of their earthly sojourn men do not turn to Calvary, but to Athens, or Florence, or Rome. But when they would learn

the secret of their own hearts, and know what mean the mounting hopes and mysterious terrors which lighten and shadow the sanctuary of their own consciences, then they are strangely drawn to ONE Who, carrying ever the scars of physical anguish, bent and broken by hard fortune and the cruelty of the world, yet "HAS THE KEYS OF DEATH AND OF HADES," and wields the Sceptre of an Eternal Kingdom. "WE BEHOLD HIM WHO HATH BEEN MADE A LITTLE LOWER THAN THE ANGELS, EVEN JESUS, BECAUSE OF THE SUFFERING OF DEATH CROWNED WITH GLORY AND HONOUR." That is the vision of Ascensiontide: that is the guiding light of our warfare, which no night of secular trouble can quench. That is "THE HOPE SET BEFORE US: WHICH WE HAVE AS AN ANCHOR OF THE SOUL, A HOPE BOTH SURE AND STEDFAST AND ENTERING INTO THAT WITHIN THE VEIL: WHITHER AS A FORERUNNER JESUS ENTERED FOR US, HAVING BECOME A PRIEST FOR EVER AFTER THE ORDER OF MELCHISEDECH."

IX

THE LEADING OF THE SPIRIT OF GOD¹

FOR AS MANY AS ARE LED BY THE SPIRIT OF GOD, THESE ARE SONS OF GOD.—*Romans* viii. 14.

BUT IF YE ARE LED BY THE SPIRIT, YE ARE NOT UNDER THE LAW.—*Galatians* v. 18.

I. THESE two sentences bear directly on the question which must needs be asked by every inquirer into the truth of CHRIST'S Religion, and privately by every one who professes to be himself a Christian, whether or not there are any trustworthy signs by which we may know that the HOLY GHOST is, in the Christian sense of the words, present and active within human hearts. I say, "in the Christian sense of the words," because we must never forget that in some sense the HOLY GHOST has ever been, and is still, present wherever the conflict of the "SPIRIT" against the "FLESH" is

¹ Preached in Durham Cathedral on Whitsunday, June 11, 1916, at the Holy Eucharist.

maintained. In every human spirit, which is not morally "REPROBATE," HE speaks in warning and guidance, offering through the conscience HIS blessed "LEADING" to every child of man. But it has ever been claimed that within the Christian Church the action of the HOLY GHOST has taken a grander and richer significance, authenticating itself by infallible proofs, which men of good will must perforce admit. Indeed, the difference between the time before, and the time since the Self-Manifestation of GOD in CHRIST was held to be so great, that Christians did not hesitate to speak of the "COMING" of the HOLY GHOST at Pentecost. With that "COMING" the Christian Era properly began, for only then did Christians possess the power to be truly Disciples of JESUS CHRIST, and to become partners with HIM in HIS Divine Purpose of Redemption, fulfilling HIS last Commission to evangelize Mankind. "YE SHALL RECEIVE POWER," HE had told the Apostles, "WHEN THE HOLY GHOST IS COME UPON YOU: AND YE SHALL BE MY WITNESSES BOTH IN JERUSALEM, AND IN ALL JUDÆA AND SAMARIA, AND UNTO THE UTTERMOST PART OF THE EARTH."

2. There is a remarkable narrative in the Book of the Acts which will serve to illustrate my point.

In the course of his journeys, we are told that ST. PAUL came to Ephesus, and there "FOUND CERTAIN DISCIPLES," who seem to have perplexed him by plainly lacking something which Christians could hardly fail to possess. "HE SAID UNTO THEM, DID YE RECEIVE THE HOLY GHOST WHEN YE BELIEVED?" Their answer was sufficiently astonishing. "THEY SAID UNTO HIM, NAY, WE DID NOT SO MUCH AS HEAR WHETHER THE HOLY GHOST WAS GIVEN." The Apostle inquired as to their Baptism, for no Christian could have been baptized in such a state of ignorance, and when he found that they had never received Christian Baptism at all, but only the Baptism of JOHN the Baptist, who had proclaimed beforehand the Coming of the CHRIST, he explained to them how great a change had passed over the situation in the interval, that JOHN'S prophecy had been fulfilled, that the CHRIST had come, and that their allegiance was now, on their Master's known principles, due to HIM. Their Baptism "INTO THE NAME OF THE LORD JESUS" followed, and was authenticated in their case, as in that of all other Apostolic converts, by the manifest activities of the HOLY SPIRIT. "AND WHEN PAUL HAD LAID HIS HANDS UPON THEM, THE HOLY GHOST CAME ON THEM: AND THEY

SPAKE WITH TONGUES AND PROPHESED.” This narrative shows how decisively Christians were wont to distinguish between the former and the latter Presence of the HOLY GHOST. So great seemed the difference that they did not scruple to speak as if the HOLY GHOST had not been “GIVEN” to men in the older time before CHRIST, whereas they could mean no more than that HIS Presence had been less apparent and fruitful. It appears from the New Testament that the Christian epoch was certified by many amazing demonstrations of Divine activity. However we may interpret the narrative of the Day of Pentecost (and I may take it for granted that few are likely to read it as a literal record of fact), it can scarcely be doubtful that we must understand that the first public proclamation of CHRIST as risen from the dead, and calling all men to own HIS Lordship, was accompanied by extraordinary and unmistakable exhibitions of superhuman power. The “GIFT OF TONGUES” was outpoured on the company of the disciples, and arrested the amazed attention of the Festival crowds. This and the other Gifts of the SPIRIT mentioned in the Epistles of ST. PAUL appear to have been widely distributed among the first converts. These extraordinary signs of the HOLY GHOST’S Presence and Work in the Church

soon ceased, but they continued long enough to serve the purpose for which we may suppose they were designed, viz. : to create in the minds of believers a firm and clear conviction that by becoming disciples of CHRIST, they had passed into a new and higher phase of existence, that they were now, as never before, in contact with the forces of the Divine SPIRIT, that they had been brought within a sphere of inspiration, that they had at their disposal moral and spiritual resources which hitherto they had not known.

3. Now it is profoundly significant that the Apostles, even while they attest and exult in the amazing tokens of the HOLY GHOST'S presence within the Church, never by so much as a single word encourage their converts to think that such tokens are necessary, or even normal, evidences of sincere discipleship. Miracles in their view might be the deceiving devices of Demons, as well as the proofs of Divine Action : and, accordingly, they followed their MASTER in attaching no importance to them as factors in religion. Rather they were at great pains to make clear to their converts that the test of true discipleship lies always in the sphere of character and conduct ; that the "FRUITS OF THE SPIRIT" are gracious dispositions which all men can

exhibit, and none can mistake; that, apart from these unmistakable evidences of discipleship, no man can claim rightly to be a disciple of JESUS CHRIST. "IF ANY MAN HATH NOT THE SPIRIT OF CHRIST HE IS NONE OF HIS," writes ST. PAUL tersely and solemnly. The constant insistence on the moral results of the HOLY GHOST'S Presence and Action within the Christian shows how strongly the Apostle was persuaded of the difficulty which Christians would find in keeping the truth in mind; how easily they would transfer the honour due to pure and disciplined character to other things (brilliant natural gifts, notable mundane successes, charm of manner even); how quickly they would lower the standard of personal righteousness in the interest of their own moral defects, and seek to substitute achievements for the deep loyalties of the spirit. In the Epistle to the Galatians he sets in contrast "THE WORKS OF THE FLESH" and "THE FRUIT OF THE SPIRIT," and lays it down as a fundamental and self-evident truth that "THESE ARE CONTRARY THE ONE TO THE OTHER," so that they cannot be rightly combined in the Christian. No doubt the circumstances of the first converts were not quite as ours. They had to learn the alphabet of sound morality, to unlearn the habits of their lives. We have been for

the most part brought up in a Christian atmosphere, and take for granted the truth of the moral teaching of the New Testament. It may well be the case that the earnestness of the Apostle strikes us as a little superfluous where we ourselves are concerned. Yet, when we reflect on the facility with which we separate our religious profession and observances from moral obligations, how readily we resent any criticism on our conduct which assumes the propriety of some clear connexion between Creed and Conduct, how frequently we apply in our judgment of others a standard which might seem almost the negation of that which ST. PAUL insists upon, can we seriously doubt that there is grave reason for taking home to ourselves the stern and simple lessons of the Apostolic Age?

4. There is, moreover, a further reason for doing this. In the first days of Christianity there was a deep cleavage between those who professed themselves Christians, and those who did not. The prejudices of society, often proceeding to the length of persecution, provided a test of sincerity in profession, which cannot have been ineffectual, keeping out of the ranks of the Church most of the shallow and insincere persons who in quiet times might too readily find admission there. This test is no longer

available: in an ancient Christian society there is no hardship commonly implied in the profession of what is *ex hypothesi* the fashionable religion: the odd and unpopular thing very often is, not to conform to, but to dissent from the public and accustomed observances of Christianity. Thus CHRIST'S Religion has seemed to become identical with ordinary human living, until there is some difficulty in realizing its essential distinctiveness. In the common phrase the Church has become merged in the State, and every citizen, in the absence of some clear proof to the contrary, is assumed to be a Christian. Hence it follows that the solemn declarations of Scripture seem to answer to nothing in ordinary experience, and we are tempted to listen to them without giving any very close attention, or finding them directly relevant to our own situation.

5. In recent years this tendency has been reinforced from another source. A change has passed over the temper of professed Christians. They no longer fasten their thoughts, as once they did, on the Life to come: they are much more closely interested than they once were in the life present. Partly this change reflects the process by which Society is becoming frankly democratic. The conditions of life among the multitude of men have now

arrested the attention of politicians of every description, and for the best of reasons, since political power now resides with the multitude of men. We have learned at the feet of the Masters of the physical sciences that many of the ills of life, which our ancestors were disposed to accept as part of the inevitable burden of humanity, are remediable, and we are all rightly eager to do what may be done to remedy those ills. This is well enough: no man who owns discipleship to the "SON OF MAN" who "WENT ABOUT DOING GOOD" can possibly be indifferent towards the sorrows and wrongs of mankind without falling lamentably short of his duty. Even so, however, there is a great difference between the point of view of the Christian, and that of the non-Christian, perhaps I ought to say between the Christian of the past and the Christian of the present. The one said, Fix your thoughts on the future when all lines of responsibility shall assuredly be disentangled and insisted upon, and you will not easily forget your responsibilities here on earth: lift up your mind to the spiritual world, and strive to become conformed in character and aspiration to the LORD Whose holy and honourable Name you bear; and you will not easily fall under the dominion of selfishness and materialism. Obey your MASTER'S

command by "SEEKING FIRST THE KINGDOM OF GOD AND HIS RIGHTEOUSNESS," and you cannot fail in the immediate demands of daily duty. The other adopts a different order of thought, and places his obligations in another setting. See to it, he says, that you concern yourself with the duties which lie nearest you, and you need be under no anxiety as to the Future: in promoting the welfare of the rest of men you are satisfying the essential demands of Christianity, and the next Life can be left to take care of itself, so long as you rightly handle this. You can see at once the agreement, and the difference. Both agree—Christians could not be Christians without agreeing—that this present life brings demands on them which it is vital to the sincerity of their religious profession that they should strive honestly to satisfy. But they differ as to the right way of making sure that Christians shall do their duty in the world. The one gives the first place to the Life to come: the other to the Life that now is. The one says, Be a good Christian, and you cannot but be a good citizen: the other says, Be a good citizen, and you will end by becoming a good Christian.

Now to my mind the difference between these two positions is very important. I am not sure whether in the long run it may not carry to the

whole difference between Christianity and no-Christianity. It may be true that he who regards the stars is not improbably destined to stumble into the ditch: but it is not the less true (and this truth, I apprehend, is of a grander significance) that he who would find a way across the trackless desert must follow loyally the guidance of the pilot stars of heaven. There is a deep and never-failing justice in the Apostle's description of Christians as "STRANGERS AND PILGRIMS ON THE EARTH," men who are seeking their Fatherland in another world than this, who know themselves to be citizens of the "CITY WHICH HATH THE FOUNDATIONS WHOSE BUILDER AND MAKER IS GOD."

6. To realize this is to break the dominion of the world over our minds, and to make possible a manner of life which the fussy absorption in the hustle and bustle of politics, however generous the intention with which at the start it may have been inspired, cannot secure. I submit that it is precisely this unearthly type of life which ST. PAUL has in mind when he says that "THE SONS OF GOD ARE LED BY THE SPIRIT OF GOD," and that, so being led, they are "NOT UNDER THE LAW." Look at these expressions more closely.

7. Christians, we learn, have their Leader within

themselves: and that Leader is none other than the "SPIRIT OF GOD": obedience to HIS leading sets them free from the dominion of external authority, and makes the way of duty, not a matter of coercion, but of joyful and eager choice. "LED BY THE SPIRIT" they are not "UNDER LAW." The antithesis is neither unfamiliar nor unmeaning. In common life we know the difference between the conduct which is, at every point, dictated by external rules, and the conduct which flows spontaneously from the clear perception and affectionate acceptance of obligation. The service of a loving wife or sister is not the same thing as the service of a hired servant: and the service of a hired servant changes its character, and becomes a noble and gracious thing, when, besides the link of legal contract between employer and employed, there has grown up a genuine respect and affection between them. Whatever work we have to do in the world changes its whole character when we cease to regard it as a compulsory task, and find in it an object of personal interest and enjoyment. One volunteer is worth many conscript soldiers, it has been said; and that may be true, if the latter be conscript against their will. The fallacy of the aphorism lies in the assumption that the conscription which free

citizens lay on themselves in devotion to their country implies any violation of free choice. We have but to look at the glorious conflict of our French Allies to see that the bravest volunteers in the world may be conscripts.

All this helps us to understand what is meant by ST. PAUL when he says that the leading of the SPIRIT OF GOD sets us "FREE FROM LAW." We love goodness for its own sake when the HOLY GHOST governs our life: we so rise above temptation that temptation has no power over us when the HOLY GHOST has free course within us, bringing our whole nature into obedience to the Law of CHRIST. Read on from the text, and mark how grandly the Apostle develops his theme: "FOR AS MANY AS ARE LED BY THE SPIRIT OF GOD, THESE ARE SONS OF GOD. FOR YE RECEIVED NOT THE SPIRIT OF BONDAGE AGAIN UNTO FEAR: BUT YE RECEIVED THE SPIRIT OF ADOPTION, WHEREBY WE CRY, ABBA, FATHER. THE SPIRIT HIMSELF BEARETH WITNESS WITH OUR SPIRIT THAT WE ARE CHILDREN OF GOD; AND IF CHILDREN, THEN HEIRS: HEIRS OF GOD, AND JOINT-HEIRS WITH CHRIST, IF SO BE THAT WE SUFFER WITH HIM THAT WE MAY BE ALSO GLORIFIED WITH HIM."

8. Let none of us turn away from these sublime teachings as if in truth they were too sublime for such persons as we know ourselves to be. The grand distinctive feature of Christianity is that it makes the highest possible for the lowest. This it is that so amazed the ancient world. See, men said in wonder and involuntary admiration, here are poor working folks whom laborious and even ignominious employments seem to condemn to debasement, living the lives of purity and exaltation which we have seen and revered in a few sages and philosophers. This it is that still arrests the gaze, and extorts the homage of the world. Why is it that men are so impressed by the Salvation Army in spite of its crude doctrines and corybantic methods? Is it not because the Salvation Army, in spite of all its defects, has brought conspicuously before our generation the absolute supremacy over circumstances which CHRIST'S Religion possesses? Here are men and women living sublimely, who were but yesterday sunken in debasing sin : here are ignorant folk, to whom the many volumes of the world's accumulated culture are unknown, who would find them uninviting and unintelligible if they did know them, who yet display a refinement of spirit, a chivalry of generous sacrifice, which make them,

in the darkest places of the modern world, "SHINE AS LIGHTS." Of course the Salvation Army does not in this respect stand alone. Every section of the Church of CHRIST does the same, demonstrating the power of the SPIRIT OF GOD to enfranchise those who accept HIS leading, to transmute all demands of Law into the spontaneous service of the Sons of GOD. To all of us then the Apostle's language has application. If we will, we also may be "LED BY THE SPIRIT," and be no longer "UNDER THE LAW." What better prayer can we offer on the Festival of the HOLY SPIRIT than that HE will lead us into liberty, "THE GLORIOUS LIBERTY OF THE SONS OF GOD"? In penitence for the sins which have "GRIEVED" HIM in the past, in humility for the weakness which fills us with fear for the future, yet in faith that "HE WHO HAS BEGUN A GOOD WORK IN US WILL NOT FAIL TO COMPLETE IT, let us surrender ourselves this day to the SPIRIT OF GOD.

HOLY GHOST ! come down upon Thy children,
 Give us grace, and make us THINE ;
 Thy tender fires within us kindle,
 Blessed SPIRIT ! Dove Divine !

X

THE CHRISTIAN MINISTRY¹

SUFFER HARDSHIP WITH ME, AS A GOOD SOLDIER OF CHRIST JESUS. NO SOLDIER ON SERVICE ENTANGLETH HIMSELF IN THE AFFAIRS OF THIS LIFE: THAT HE MAY PLEASE HIM WHO ENROLLED HIM AS A SOLDIER.—2 *Timothy* ii. 3, 4.

I. TRINITY Sunday is connected in the experience of many, perhaps most, English Clergymen with their own Ordination to the sacred ministry of the Church. The Rubric orders that before every Ordination of Deacons and Priests "there shall be a Sermon or Exhortation, declaring the Duty and Office of such as come to be admitted Deacons and Priests: how necessary those Orders are in the Church of CHRIST, and also, how the people ought to esteem them in their Office." You will permit me on this occasion to accept for myself the direction of the Rubric, and to divide my Sermon according to its suggestion into three divisions,

¹ Preached in Jesmond Parish Church on Trinity Sunday, June 18, 1916, at Mattins.

dealing respectively with the duty of the Clergy, the practical necessity of them, and the estimate of their Office which the laity ought to form.

First, then, let us briefly consider "the Duty and Office" of a Christian Minister. The two expressions indicate the same thing viewed from different points of view. The "Duty" is expressed in the "Office": the "Office," fulfilled publicly in the Church, becomes the personal "Duty" of the Minister. What the outside world sees as a defined "Office" his own conscience certifies to be a Divinely imposed "Duty." The two may go apart. There may be a punctilious performance of the prescribed functions which pertain to the "Office" without any conscious or genuine sense of "Duty." It is the case that the higher the kind of work which any man is called upon to do, the more easy is it for him to separate his "Office" from his "Duty": and in the highest work of all—the sacred work of the Christian Ministry—that separation is easiest. We may add that in a Church which is legally established, in which, therefore, the details of the clergyman's work are prescribed by the law, and little is left to his own initiative, such a separation between "Duty" and "Office" is in a sense facilitated. No slight importance, then,

must needs attach to a clear perception of the risk of this severance ; and, at the decisive time of Ordination, the Preacher is bidden to press the point. A serious view of "Duty" looks beyond laws and rubrics, above professional claims and interests, and sees the final truth of all morals—GOD'S Demand on HIS Creature. Accordingly, when we are committing ourselves to that way of life which is avowedly designed to secure in society an intelligible and continuous affirmation of Man's Duty, we are encountered by a challenge to make sure that we ourselves do not lack the indispensable title of a clear vocation : "Do you trust that you are inwardly moved by the HOLY GHOST to take upon you this Office and Ministration, to serve GOD for the promoting of HIS glory, and the edifying of HIS People?" The other questions are pointless until that has been answered. As it is the first and most important of the questions which must be answered at Ordination, so also is it incomparably the most difficult. For in its answering every man must stand on his own feet, and carry without support from others his whole responsibility. Parents and Guardians—those who love us most, and know us best—must find here a limit to their influence. They can help us with their counsel, make our way

easy by their sacrifice, strengthen us by their prayers, comfort us by their sympathy: but for the final answer they must stand aside, and leave us to ourselves. "THE HEART KNOWETH ITS OWN BITTERNESS, AND A STRANGER DOTH NOT INTERMEDDLE WITH THE JOY THEREOF." The truth that underlies the medieval theory of the indelibility of Orders seems to me derived from the fact that only a Divine Vocation, certified directly to the individual, can create a Christian Ministry, and that "THE PURPOSES OF GOD ARE WITHOUT REPENTANCE." The Duty is created by the Vocation, and it expresses itself in obedience to the requirements of the Office, and these have been very variously stated in the Christian Church from time to time.

2. From "Duty" we must needs pass to "Office." The English clergyman pledges himself to accept the Christian Ministry "as this Church and Realm hath received the same," that is, as it is conditioned and interpreted by the CHURCH OF ENGLAND. He declares his belief that the system of the CHURCH OF ENGLAND is accordant with the Will of CHRIST: and he promises publicly that he will be loyal to it. Now the CHURCH OF ENGLAND is one of the Reformed Churches, and it has a

distinctive position in Christendom. The Clergyman must not suffer himself to fall into the fallacy of imagining a rivalry between his duty to the Catholic Church, and his duty to the Church of England. The Catholic Church utters its claim on him through the Church of England, and only in obeying the last can he be loyal to the first. He is pledged solemnly to a frank acceptance of the English system. He promises a reverent and willing obedience to his official superiors. If there be any principle of ecclesiastical life which can justly be called "Catholic," it is the principle of obedience to superiors. None of us can reasonably arrogate to himself an universal responsibility. We must recognize an allocation of it. Not agreement is asked for from an inferior but obedience ; and that for the highest of all reasons, because such obedience in godly discipline is a recognition of the Divine Order in a world hastening back to chaos, a surrender to the Divine Will in a society which is in revolt. No zeal can justify disobedience : no success can condone disorder. "THE SPIRITS OF THE PROPHETS ARE SUBJECT TO THE PROPHETS ; FOR GOD IS NOT A GOD OF CONFUSION, BUT OF PEACE : AS IN ALL THE CHURCHES OF THE SAINTS."

3. If I dwell with so much insistence on this

point, it is because the Nation seems to me to stand in the most urgent need of a strengthened sense of civic duty. Respect for Law has decayed with startling rapidity in recent years : and in no section of the community has that sinister fact been more apparent than in the ranks of the English Clergy. I do not stop now to consider the reasons : I content myself with emphasizing the lamentable fact. The gravity of this tendency towards lawlessness is not lessened by the terrible experiences through which we are passing. War, however just the cause, however clean the fighting, is not friendly to Law. It brings the social fabric under a dangerous strain. It stimulates lawless appetites in men's minds, and accustoms them to methods of violence. We are assured by those who know that the outbreak of War anticipated, and for the time arrested the outbreak of economic conflicts vaster and more severe than any we have yet known. The conclusion of Peace will open again the flood-gates of domestic controversy on every plane of national life. No considering Englishman can contemplate the future without the gravest anxiety. The demand of Patriotism on the English Citizen will be different, but not less considerable, when the War is over. While War proceeds, it must needs

be the case, that all whose occupations presuppose Peace are paralysed and, in a sense, discredited ; but when Peace (which is after all the normal condition of civilized life) returns, they will come again into activity and influence. Among these not the least important surely or the least necessary are the Clergy of the National Church, who are set in every parish throughout the land to proclaim the Gospel of CHRIST, and to persuade men to govern their action by its righteous and benignant precepts. With what effect can the Clergy fulfil their sacred task if they themselves are associated in the minds of their parishioners with law-breaking and disregard of lawful authority ?

4. The teaching function of the English Clergy will always be exercised in close connexion with their function as pastors. The effectiveness of their work in the Pulpit will be principally determined by the soundness of their life in the Parish. It is the privilege of the English Clergyman to be charged with pastorate over a prescribed area. There he must live : there he must work. His people will see him in the familiar categories of householder, neighbour, employer, generally also, husband and father. In all the little contacts of common life they will take his measure, and judge his quality.

His personal reputation will assist or hinder his preaching, for his neighbours will inevitably interpret his sermons by the continuing commentary of his example, and they will not accept eloquence as a substitute for honesty, or fine sentiments as an excuse for idleness.

“As long as men have eyes as well as ears,” wrote that noble Pastor, RICHARD BAXTER, “they will think they see your meaning as well as hear it: and they are more apt to believe their sight than their hearing, as being the more perfect sense. All that a preacher doth is a kind of preaching; and when you live a covetous or a careless life you preach those sins to your people by your example.”¹

It is worthy of notice that no less than two of the Ordination questions have reference to the clergyman's manner of living, so great is the emphasis which our Reformers desired to place on the solemn truth that the spiritual worth of every man's ministry will be mainly determined by the quality of his life.

5. When we speak of what the Rubric calls the “necessity” of the Orders of Deacons and Priests in the Church of CHRIST, we must be careful to understand the nature of the alleged necessity. For there are two senses in which the word is commonly employed. It may mean absolutely indispensable,

¹ Vide *Reformed Pastor*, p. 73.

as when we say that food is necessary to life : or it may mean no more than commonly requisite, as when we say that at least six months' training is necessary for a soldier. It is only in the latter sense that the Orders of Deacons and Priests are "necessary" to the Church of CHRIST. Their "necessity" is not absolute, but equitably conditioned. The Christian Ministry is "necessary" to the Church, as Holy Baptism is said to be "necessary" to the salvation of the individual Christian, namely, "where it may be had." We are not called upon to consider extraordinary situations. It is enough for us to know that the ordinary channel by which the good gifts of the ALMIGHTY are brought to HIS servants is the ministry of the Ordained Clergy. We cannot reasonably doubt that the Ministry can trace its origin to the LORD JESUS CHRIST, and we need no further argument to justify the language of the Rubric. The specific form of the Ministry, whether Episcopal as among ourselves, or Presbyterian as among the Lutherans and Calvinists, or Papal as among the Roman Catholics, would seem to be a matter of secondary importance, which the Church is competent to determine in the light of experience. The CHURCH OF ENGLAND exercised

that liberty in the sixteenth century when it abolished the Papal Autocracy, and accepted a national character. Our Reformers justified the retention of the Episcopal System by arguments which must be allowed to be considerable, and which we shall all agree to be sufficient. Without passing judgment on other Churches, which came to different decisions, we shall recognize in our threefold ministry a spiritual government organized according to the Will of GOD, and entitled therefore to our loyal and reverent obedience. On this point it is not necessary for me to dwell further, but the language of the Rubric would not tolerate an omission of all reference to it. I pass, then, to the last part of my prescribed task, and beg your attention to a few words on the point, how the people ought to esteem the clergy in their Office.

6. Here we come at once to the broad distinction which separates the Unreformed from the Reformed Churches. The English Clergyman is primarily a "MINISTER OF THE WORD AND SACRAMENTS." That is the order of importance, which the Scripture authorizes and which the Prayer-book clearly and solemnly affirms. In CRANMER'S noble and moving description of the Priest's Office, which the BISHOP reads to the men whom he is about

to ordain, there is no mention of any sacerdotal character or function. The emphasis is placed on pastorate and preaching. Similarly the only symbol of office which is given to the Priest at his Ordination is the Bible, not, as in the medieval service, the Chalice and Paten. The word "Priest" is etymologically identical with "Presbyter," and the fact was pleaded by ARCHBISHOP WHITGIFT as justifying sufficiently the application of the familiar word to the Christian Minister. The Laity, therefore, are to regard the Clergy, not as men clothed with sacerdotal powers in the medieval sense, but as "PASTORS AND TEACHERS." The words in which our great BISHOP LIGHTFOOT described the ideal of Christianity ought to be kept ever in mind by the English Layman :

The Kingdom of CHRIST . . . has no sacerdotal system. It interposes no sacrificial tribe or class between GOD and man, by whose intervention alone GOD is reconciled and man forgiven. Each individual member holds personal communion with the Divine Head. To HIM immediately he is responsible, and from HIM directly he obtains pardon and draws strength.¹

The frank refusal to recognize any sacerdotal character in the Christian Minister as such must be conditioned by an equally frank recognition of his

¹ Vide *Philippians*, p. 181.

true character as the executive officer of the Christian Society. As such he can rightly claim respect for his office, deference to his authority, a loyal support in his fulfilment of duty. He represents the social as against the merely individual aspect of Christianity. He symbolizes in the parish the sacred Order, which reigns in the spiritual Kingdom: he, as ST. PAUL said, "IS AN AMBASSADOR ON BEHALF OF CHRIST, AS THOUGH GOD WERE INTREATING BY HIM": he is charged in special measure with the redemptive Mission of HIM Who "CAME TO SEEK AND TO SAVE THAT WHICH WAS LOST": he "WATCHES FOR SOULS" and is the "SERVANT" of the people "FOR CHRIST'S SAKE." "WHO IS SUFFICIENT FOR THESE THINGS?" asked the great Apostle, and his question rises still more threateningly on our minds to-day. Surely, we may claim from our lay brethren something more than material support, or formal recognition. We can claim their sympathy, their counsel, the assistance of their prayers.

7. The words of ST. PAUL to his spiritual "CHILD" TIMOTHY may fitly be addressed to the man who in this difficult time receives Ordination to the Christian Ministry. The peril and the power of that high service are disclosed in them: "SUFFER HARDSHIP WITH ME, AS A GOOD SOLDIER OF

CHRIST JESUS. NO SOLDIER ON SERVICE ENTANGLETH HIMSELF IN THE AFFAIRS OF THIS WORLD THAT HE MAY PLEASE HIM WHO ENROLLED HIM AS A SOLDIER." It is true that the old conditions of stress have disappeared. The modern clergyman need not look, like the contemporaries of ST. PAUL, "FOR BONDS AND IMPRISONMENTS." Nevertheless, the times that are coming will not be easy for the Christian Minister: and if he would play the man, he must brace his mind to sustain "HARDNESS." He will almost certainly be poor: he will very probably be also obscure: he will scarcely be popular: he may be the victim of public obloquy. Yet, if he be loyal to the Commission he has received, he will assuredly be happy. In spite of its anxieties and disadvantages, there is no happier life than that of a parish clergyman, for his opportunities of service to mankind are without limit, and not rarely he is permitted to see the Power of GOD in his ministry. He will not be unhelped in his work, if manfully and humbly he will strive to do his duty. His efforts and his sacrifices may be unmarked of men, but they will be seen of GOD. "AND WHEN THE CHIEF SHEPHERD SHALL BE MANIFESTED, HE SHALL RECEIVE THE CROWN OF GLORY THAT FADETH NOT AWAY."

XI

RELIGION IN POLITICS¹

EXCEPT THE LORD BUILD THE HOUSE, THEY LABOUR IN VAIN
THAT BUILD IT: EXCEPT THE LORD KEEP THE CITY, THE WATCH-
MAN WAKETH BUT IN VAIN.—*Psalm cxxvii. 1.*

I. RELIGIOUS men of every description and in every stage of spiritual development would speak thus. At the root of all religion lies the consciousness that behind the veil of phenomena are forces, dimly apprehended and never clearly perceived, which have the final determining of terrestrial fortunes. Men are incorrigibly religious because they cannot bring themselves to acquiesce in a total and sustained disregard of those unseen Powers, of whose presence and activity they are strangely assured. The history of Religion is the history of men's attempts to discover some tolerable theory which shall interpret their consciousness in harmony with their knowledge and experience. Those

¹ Preached in Durham Cathedral on the second Sunday in Lent, March 4, 1917, at Evensong.

attempts, we believe, have not been unhelped or ineffectual. The whole process of human life, as we must needs regard it, has been inspired from above, and is a continuing demonstration of human spirituality. Christianity comes on the scene of History late in time, and at the end of long-continued religious advance: and proves its supremacy by its catholic range and character, that is, by its power to validate all spiritual ventures previously made, and to garner all spiritual gains already won in the long conflict. Our confidence in the ultimately universal triumph of CHRIST'S religion is based on its proved competence to absorb truth from without, and thus to vindicate for every genuine aspiration of the spirit a title to complete satisfaction. These words of the Hebrew Psalmist have passed into the usage of the Christian Church, and serve still to utter the truth as it presents itself to men who have learned of JESUS lessons which the Hebrew Psalmist could not know. I take them for my text to-day, and seek to make plain to myself and to you what their Christian message is. "EXCEPT THE LORD BUILD THE HOUSE, THEY LABOUR IN VAIN THAT BUILD IT: EXCEPT THE LORD KEEP THE CITY, THE WATCHMAN WAKETH BUT IN VAIN."

2. How ought Religion to express itself in a

crisis of national danger? How must we understand the action of GOD in the nation, that action which we acknowledge to be indispensable to the national welfare? What is that Divine "BUILDING," apart from which the human builder toils in vain? What is that Divine Wardship, the absence of which makes vain the human watchman's vigilance? Such questions are relevant to our present situation, and manifestly urgent, for upon the right answering of them much depends. We, as seriously Christian men, must needs direct our own conduct according to the view we take of our religious obligation: and, as patriotic Englishmen, we shall find motives for religious effort in the grave circumstances of the nation at this time.

3. In the first place, we must make sure that we leave out of count no truth which the Gospel has revealed, or the experience of Mankind has disclosed. There is, perhaps, some danger that our English veneration for the Bible, in itself a just and valuable sentiment, may lead us astray. For at a time of national crisis it is the Old Testament rather than the New which seems most congruous with our feelings, and most relevant to our case. The Old Testament, unlike the New, contains a national literature, and records a national history: it offers

itself, therefore, as a sacred model on which a national life should be ordered. In point of fact, the English Reformers built on the precedents of the Old Testament more confidently than any other, precisely because they (almost alone of the Reformers) were engaged in constructing the system of an independent national Church. ARCHBISHOP CRANMER did not scruple to refer to JOSIAH as EDWARD VI.'S "predecessor," when he addressed the Boy-king at his Coronation. That was but typical of the general attitude towards the Old Testament. Now there are always two disadvantages which attach to the Old Testament, when drawn upon for the moral guidance of Christians. It belongs to a relatively early stage of religious development: and it has no clear or continuous vision of any wider obligations than those which are national. Hence the Christian who seeks in its pages directions for his own guidance may easily be led into religious anachronisms, intellectual and moral, which may even immerse him in grave practical errors. The Writers of the Bible—in this respect there is no distinction to be drawn between the Old Testament and the New—had necessarily no such knowledge of the Universe as that which we sum up under the term, Modern Science,—

knowledge which has silently but surely revolutionized the beliefs and practices of civilized men. This Knowledge, in so far as it is truly such, comes to us with Divine Authority, and cannot be ignored without profanity. It is our religious duty to correlate it with our convictions, and to give it due influence on our action.

4. In the next place, we must be vigilant against Superstition. A time of acute national crisis is precisely a time when the human spirit is shaken by emotions and shadowed by fear, a time, therefore, when it is peculiarly sensitive to the appeals of superstition. "FEAR," says an Apocryphal Writer, "IS NOTHING ELSE BUT A SURRENDER OF THE SUCCOURS WHICH REASON OFFERETH." War carries in its quiver a whole sheaf of maledictions, and among them all none more malefic than the morbid suspicions and extravagant hopes with which Superstition confuses the judgment, and perverts the conscience, of religious men. Strong excitement seems to paralyse for the time that slowly acquired machinery of checks and inhibitions by which in civilized men the primitive impulses and passions are subordinated, and to release these again into disastrous activity. This gives the Key, perhaps, to the crimes which stain Revolutions, and

to those hateful barbarities which have again and again been reported from the scenes of German Warfare. It may give the Key also to much that is being said and done among ourselves at the present time, much, I mean, that is crude and archaic, belonging to a past which was neither Christian nor Scientific.

5. With these necessary cautions in mind, turn to the text, and consider how its teaching ought to affect us here and now : "EXCEPT THE LORD BUILD THE HOUSE, THEY LABOUR IN VAIN THAT BUILD IT : EXCEPT THE LORD KEEP THE CITY, THE WATCHMAN WAKETH BUT IN VAIN.

The "LORD" of whom we speak is no merely national divinity, whose reputation is bound up with a chosen people's triumphs, but "THE GOD AND FATHER OF OUR LORD JESUS CHRIST," Who regards all the children of men with impartial benevolence, "MAKING HIS SUN TO RISE ON THE EVIL AND THE GOOD, AND SENDING RAIN ON THE JUST AND THE UNJUST." HIS Mind is disclosed to us in the stately movements of the constellations, every one traversing the cycle of its appointed destiny, none transgressing the "BOUNDS OF ITS HABITATION." HIS Universe is no scene of caprices and surprises, but a Reign of Law, all physical

phenomena being linked together in a chain of causation, none moving apart from the general scheme. While the range of HIS Providence is coextensive with the universe, the essentials of HIS Worship are disclosed within the heart of Man. "HE HATH SHOWED THEE, O MAN, WHAT IS GOOD AND WHAT DOTH THE LORD REQUIRE OF THEE BUT TO DO JUSTLY, AND TO LOVE MERCY, AND TO WALK HUMBLY WITH THY GOD." The GOD of the Conscience is also the GOD of the Prophets, who throughout the centuries have illumined human life with spiritual witness. HE—this is the burden of all prophetic witness—is the GOD of History, "THE MOST HIGH" who "RULES IN THE KINGDOM OF MEN, AND GIVETH IT TO WHOMSOEVER HE WILL." Above all, HE is the GOD of Redemption, Who has "VISITED HIS PEOPLE" in the Person of HIS SON, our LORD JESUS CHRIST. Now all these characters must meet and harmonize in our conception of the ALMIGHTY. Nature, Conscience, History, Revelation — every one is a contributory stream swelling the central river of Truth, the Truth about GOD. Our Religion leaves none of the distinctive factors out of its view. Nature's witness is checked by the Conscience, and the message of the Conscience is tested and vindicated by History,

and the key to all is revealed in the Gospel. Not of Israel alone, but of the whole human race might the record run, and the confession hold: "THY WAY WAS IN THE SEA, AND THY PATH IN THE GREAT WATERS, AND THY FOOTSTEPS WERE NOT KNOWN. THOU LEDDEST THY PEOPLE LIKE A FLOCK."

6. Some effects of this view of GOD are, perhaps, certain and apparent. The mind which cherishes it will not easily admit the weakness and depression of pessimism. For nothing can finally prevail against the Will of GOD, and that Will is not unknown. Whatsoever measures of success may belong to policies of injustice can be but temporary. In the long run righteousness wins the battle. The "changes and chances" of Time may seem to contradict the witness of the Conscience, but the contradiction is only due to the limitation of our view. "GOD is not like a hasty-tempered man, venting HIS anger at once on the occasion of every wrong" said the Greek Poet, and on this point the Hebrew was agreed with the Hellene. "THE LORD IS NOT SLACK CONCERNING HIS PROMISE, AS SOME COUNT SLACKNESS: BUT IS LONGSUFFERING TO YOUWARD, NOT WISHING THAT ANY SHOULD PERISH, BUT THAT ALL SHOULD COME TO RE-

PENTANCE," writes the last of the New Testament writers, a nameless prophet who lived in distressful days. Given a genuine self-surrender to the cause of righteousness, and no unfriendly fortunes can shake the purpose or trouble the serenity of the human spirit. "THOU SHALT KEEP HIM IN PERFECT PEACE, WHOSE MIND IS STAYED ON THEE: BECAUSE HE TRUSTETH IN THEE."

It is here that Religion can assist Patriotism, purging it of a sinful aggressiveness, and giving it a firmness and altitude which are truly spiritual. I do not think we are necessarily called to "HANG OUR HEADS AS A BULRUSH," and repeat many litanies of self-reproaching penitence. Victory will not be the proof of our goodness, nor defeat the punishment of our sins: but whether defeat or victory be our immediate fortune, GOD, HOLY, JUST, MERCIFUL, has not left the world to itself, and HE has the "last word" in the affairs of men. Let us but make sure that we fight on the right side, and we can leave the issue of the conflict in HIS Hands, "WHOSE WE ARE, AND WHOM WE SERVE."

7. You will have perceived that I desire to dissociate myself as sharply as possible from the attitude disclosed by too many Christian preachers at this juncture. When, for example, a popular

Bishop assures large congregations that victory is delayed because of the sins of the Allied Peoples, and does not hesitate even to specify the particular offences for which punishment is being exacted, I hear across the centuries the grave rebuke which CHRIST addressed to similar moralists in ancient Palestine: "THINK YE THAT THESE GALILÆANS WERE SINNERS ABOVE ALL THE GALILÆANS BECAUSE THEY HAVE SUFFERED SUCH THINGS? I TELL YOU NAY." And, when I hear men speak as if victory in the present conflict must come to us because we are very sure that justice is on our side, tying the Providence of GOD to a single episode in the continuing conflict of history, I marvel at their confidence, and shudder at their precipitate dogmatism. The cause of Divine Justice cannot thus be linked with specific happenings. What is victory, and what is defeat, when we are speaking of GOD'S Providence? Which of us can tell what is truly the interest of righteousness in this War? A Babylonian Captivity serves the Cause of GOD as well as the victories of DAVID and the splendours of SOLOMON. It is enough for us to perceive our duty, and to do it. The fortunes of righteousness are in the hands of HIM Who is the Author of it. It is a vulgar reading of History

to give such absolute importance to the chances of War. The "FAITH THAT OVERCOMES THE WORLD" does not draw its vigour from earthly success, but from the inward assurance of the SPIRIT. "THE WORLD PASSETH AWAY AND THE LUST THEREOF: BUT HE THAT DOETH THE WILL OF GOD ABIDETH FOR EVER."

8. Take another example. When a Preacher professes his belief that "the results of that tragic Easter recess"—he appears to refer to the trouble in Ireland, and the surrender of KUT—"would have been very different" if only the Prime Minister had before the rising of Parliament asked and received "the prayers of all faithful people," I find myself moved to wonder at the archaic thinking which lies behind the language. Is there such efficacy in reiterated petitions that the proper consequences of events can be arrested, and miracles wrought on the earth? What is this but to argue as those "GENTILES" argued of whom our SAVIOUR said that "THEY THOUGHT THEY SHOULD BE HEARD FOR THEIR MUCH SPEAKING"? What real difference is there between the attitude of mind disclosed by this modern Preacher, and that of the Scottish ministers who insisted on purging out all uncovenanted officers and men from the Royalist Army at

Dunbar, on the view that such would, like Achan in the camp of Israel, bring the Divine Anger upon the host. "In three days they dismissed eighty officers and more than 3000 soldiers. The army of the Kirk, thus purified from Malignants and Engagers, was fondly believed to be invincible." The event falsified the confident assurances of the Scottish ministers. CROMWELL'S victory, says MR. GARDINER, was largely due to "the absence of the veteran officers, purged out of the Scottish army for insufficiency of religious zeal." I protest that I can perceive no essential difference between the reasoning of the Presbyterian ministers before Dunbar, and those which underlie the language now being employed by many modern Preachers. If the ruinous results are not the same, it is because modern statesmen and generals no longer yield such deference to popular theologians.

9. Earnestly and respectfully I would venture to entreat these Preachers, whose zeal and sincerity I honour, to take thought for the inevitable effect of their language on the minds of considering men. Such crude and hasty dogmatizing may pass in crowded assemblies, and be hailed as edifying by the so-called religious Press, but it provokes graver questions than it answers, and adds a formidable

stumbling-block to the many hindrances which now obstruct the road to Faith in the case of thoughtful and educated men. If the National Mission, of which so much has been spoken, is to bring blessing and not bane to the Nation, it must proceed on a basis of more reverent, cautious, and intelligent thinking than the Preachers I have referred to disclose.

10. If we really believe with the Psalmist that GOD is directly concerned with human affairs, and that these are only then strong and prosperous when they harmonize with HIS righteous Will, then it follows that we must needs bring to the performance of what we acknowledge to be our Duty, that temper of resolute determination which is the very opposite of the nervous impatience which is cast down at every check, and clamours for rapid and easy success. We have learned gradually the colossal magnitude of the task which has been laid upon us, and which we have not hesitated to clothe with the loftiest character. We know now that its full performance may tax our resources to the utmost, and require personal sacrifices greater than we have ever before contemplated. Very well. As Christian citizens we ought to be the backbone of the national effort. Others may speak of peace

while the wrongs of BELGIUM and SERBIA are unredressed, and the fair lands of FRANCE and POLAND lie under the heel of the invader. We cannot think of peace while the Task is unfinished and we have strength to fight. We express our obligation in this matter in terms of sacred significance: "HE THAT ENDURETH TO THE END THE SAME SHALL BE SAVED." We give to the Nation a self-dedication to service which we learned in the Church. Familiar words are receiving a new intention, and glowing with a new devotion: "Here we offer and present unto Thee, O LORD, ourselves, our souls and bodies, to be a reasonable, holy, and lively sacrifice unto Thee." On no higher theory could men fight: on no lower theory could Christians fight at all. So to fight is to fight on until the end. So to fight is to conquer: for, be the immediate fortunes of the fighting what they may, the only victory that matters will be secure, the victory of the Spirit. "BE THOU FAITHFUL UNTO DEATH: AND I WILL GIVE THEE THE CROWN OF LIFE."

XII

THANKSGIVING AND PRAYER AFTER TWO YEARS OF THE GREAT WAR¹

THE LORD REIGNETH: LET THE EARTH REJOICE: LET THE MULTITUDE OF THE ISLES BE GLAD. CLOUDS AND DARKNESS ARE ROUND ABOUT HIM: RIGHTEOUSNESS AND JUDGMENT ARE THE FOUNDATION OF HIS THRONE. . . . LIGHT IS SOWN FOR THE RIGHTEOUS, AND GLADNESS FOR THE UPRIGHT IN HEART. BE GLAD IN THE LORD, YE RIGHTEOUS: AND GIVE THANKS TO HIS HOLY NAME.—*Psalm xcvi.* 1, 2, 11, 12.

WE have met together this afternoon for a very solemn and extraordinary purpose. After two years of War, we desire as a nation to thank Almighty GOD for the blessings which HE has given us, and to pray to HIM, the only Source of all Good, for grace to make possible to us that perseverance and fortitude which are the conditions of Victory. Let me speak briefly of our reasons for Thanksgiving: and then of our reasons for Prayer.

Carry back your minds to the beginning of

¹ Preached in Durham Cathedral on August 6, 1916, at the Special Service.

August 1914, when the great crisis broke suddenly upon Europe. Never did War come upon a more unexpectant and unprepared people. It was the beginning of the holiday season: the minds of most Englishmen were filled with projects of innocent recreation, where they should take wife and children for the holiday, how they should spend such leisure as they would have, a hundred little plans for making the time pleasant for the boys and girls home from school. Older men had felt anxiety as to the consequences of the tragedy at Saragevo, but none could suppose that so relatively trivial an occurrence as the assassination of an unpopular Archduke in Bosnia could plunge Europe into war. Who doubted that Diplomacy, which had kept the peace in the earlier and more formidable Balkan crisis, would be able to do as much again? With terrible swiftness the situation took a desperate character. Behind the brutal attitude of Austria men perceived a more formidable and cynical policy still. The great German Aggression, prepared for during many years, which had hung like a thunder-cloud over Europe for more than a decade, had found its opportunity, and was seeking its occasion. Necessarily therefore Diplomacy, though honest and indefatigable, failed, and an European War broke

out to the amazement and indignation of all right-thinking men. What would GREAT BRITAIN do? There were not wanting those who urged the wisdom, the advantage, even the obligation, of neutrality. But the brutal violence of GERMANY left Englishmen confronted with the naked issue of War or perpetual Ignominy: and as soon as that issue was perceived, the die was cast. The British Empire determined to fight on the issue of international law broken flagrantly and cynically by the German invasion of Belgium. After two years of War, every day of which has brought some addition to the cruel cost of that primary decision, is there anywhere an Englishman, who does not thank GOD that the British Empire went to War for the violated rights of Belgium? We did not then perceive the full significance of the German Aggression. We could not then imagine what would be the method of German Warfare. We could not then know what a revelation of German savagery the world would be called to witness. LOUVAIN, AERSCHOTT, RHEIMS, WITTENBERG, RUHLEBEN, the "LUSITANIA," Nurse CAVELL, Captain FRYATT,—names of places, ships, and persons had not yet become clothed with a terrible significance, proofs of German Apostasy from the fellowship of civilized mankind, symbols of

a fearful Revolt of the German State against the tradition of Christendom. All this was as yet unforeseen ; only the initial crime was disclosed, and on that GOD led our Country to a right decision. To-day, with fuller knowledge of what was indeed at stake, we thank GOD that in that critical hour, big with the fates of men, GREAT BRITAIN stood for the right. Suppose for one instant that the case had been otherwise, that the voices of those who urged neutrality had been listened to, and that to-day we were enjoying peace and the enormous monetary gains of neutrals in a great war, what would have been our reflections, as we faced our consciences in the House of GOD? Perhaps I can best answer that question by showing you what high-minded Americans are feeling to-day, as they contrast their own unprecedented prosperity with the sore straits and labours of GREAT BRITAIN. I quote from a well-known American Historian and Litterateur, who has recently published a powerful and moving book, *Germany versus Civilization, Notes on the Atrocious War*, by WILLIAM ROSCOE THAYER. He begins by a bitter reference to the Day of Thanksgiving which is observed annually in America to express gratitude for the manifold blessings Providence has showered upon the Republic. I

quote his words without comment, for it would perhaps be improper for an English Preacher to criticize publicly the attitude of a foreign and friendly Power ; but I quote them as illustrating what we have ourselves escaped by that fateful decision for which we thank GOD to-day :

Our harvests have surpassed all bounds. Our industries, under the unhealthy stimulus of war, have raised the wages of millions of labourers. Like the Pharisee we can thank GOD that we are not like our neighbours : they are at war, we are at peace.

A year ago, PRESIDENT WILSON bade us hold a similar Thanksgiving : and those who have the catchwords of religion on their lips, but infidelity in their hearts, might infer—from our increased prosperity—that our prayers and thank-offerings were acceptable, and have been rewarded in overflowing measure.

But those are not gods of the spirit who substitute gifts of corn and copper and iron and gasoline for the spiritual gifts, for lack of which our souls perish. In this crisis a true prophet of the soul would call us not to thanksgiving but to humiliation—the humiliation that every heart, into which the faintest instinct of nobleness has glimmered, must feel when it recognizes that it has betrayed the very law of its being.

During fourteen months the memory of our dark shortcoming, of our great refusal, has lain like a mildew on our American conscience. Some of us, singly, have repudiated the shame : but even if every American had made his private disavowal, we should not have been freed from our supreme obligation. . . . Wherein lay our

guilt? It lay in our failure as a nation through the silence of the President to bear witness to the deepest truth which civilized men have felt or can feel. A horde of military barbarians violated the neutrality of little Belgium, which we, with other Governments had pledged ourselves to uphold,—and we said nothing. And then that horde sped on, its gray-clad regiments sifting over Belgium, as the showers of ashes from Vesuvius once fell upon Pompeii with irremediable havoc. In this outrage on Humanity also, the Huns flung their challenge at us, and we said nothing. . . . We tacitly admitted that a small nation has no rights, that neutral nations may be overrun and destroyed at the pleasure of a powerful aggressor. The President's silence was tantamount to acquiescing in the German doctrine that might is right, that matter and not spirit rules the universe, including the conduct and affairs of men. This is our primal infidelity.

So to our shame we let it be implied that the Government of the United States was not officially concerned in protesting against the subversion of neutral rights, or the swallowing up of a small nation by a large, or by crimes against common humanity. . . . The conscience of our countrymen sent its inquiry to Washington, "WHERE IS BELGIUM?" and the silence at the White House mutely echoed CAIN's reply, "I KNOW NOT: AM I MY BROTHER'S KEEPER?"

This is the language of an eminent American, and it discloses sentiments of shame and remorse, which would have been ours in far intenser form and with far greater reason, if we had failed to draw the sword two years ago. It is for Americans to speak

thus of themselves: not for Englishmen to speak thus of Americans. We must needs speak rather of the countless acts of self-sacrifice and personal heroism by which individual Americans have mitigated the miseries of this atrocious conflict in Belgium and Poland, where the civilian population has been reduced to the last extremes of wretchedness, and where it is the case that, but for the bountiful and persistent charity of the American People, they would have perished of hunger, and in the Prisoners' Camps in Germany where the presence of the representatives of America has been the only restraint on the cruelty of the German Officials. All this only adds to the impressiveness of such trouble of conscience as MR. THAYER confesses, and helps us to understand why we have indeed reason to thank GOD, the ultimate Author of Morality, that Great Britain was led to draw sword on the side of Justice and International Law.

We thank GOD with full hearts for the loyal response of the Empire to the summons of the Mother Country. We thank GOD for the behaviour of our Soldiers and Sailors, their endurance, their heroic courage, their self-control in difficult situations, their persistent mercifulness. We thank GOD for the behaviour of our people here at home, for the

wonderful devotion of women all over the country, for their resourcefulness and bravery in putting hand to unaccustomed forms of effort, for their cheerfulness and self-sacrifice. We thank GOD for our Allies, FRANCE, so deeply wounded yet fighting with such magnanimous valour as not even in her own glorious annals has ever been surpassed, ITALY, giving herself to the perilous conflict in a passion of generous sympathy which adds to the incredible feats of her Alpini, an almost religious consecration, RUSSIA, waging ■ "Holy War" with a death-defying devotion that compels victory against all odds. Yes: as we think it all over here in the LORD'S House, our thankfulness mounts higher still into that veiled region where Earth with its passions and conflicts fades into Eternity, where passions are not, and conflicts cease for ever. We thank GOD for the Fallen, whose bodies lie beneath the crosses behind the lines of battle, East, and West, and South, or have crumbled slowly in the winter winds on the barbed wire, or have been buried by hostile hands in alien soil, or lie deep beneath the waves. They are gone, but their works do follow them. With their blood they have bought the Freedom of the World. "RIGHT DEAR IN THE SIGHT OF THE LORD IS THE DEATH OF HIS SAINTS." Their loss will shadow

our lives till the end, and the chill of their absence can never wholly pass : but we are not unconsolated. We thank GOD that they fought and fell in no base warfare, for no unworthy cause. "THE SOULS OF THE RIGHTEOUS ARE IN THE HAND OF GOD, AND NO TORMENT SHALL TOUCH THEM. IN THE EYES OF THE FOOLISH THEY SEEMED TO HAVE DIED : AND THEIR DEPARTURE WAS ACCOUNTED TO BE THEIR HURT, AND THEIR JOURNEYING AWAY FROM US TO BE THEIR RUIN : BUT THEY ARE IN PEACE. FOR EVEN IF IN THE SIGHT OF MEN THEY BE PUNISHED, THEIR HOPE IS FULL OF IMMORTALITY ; AND HAVING BORNE A LITTLE CHASTENING, THEY SHALL RECEIVE GREAT GOOD : BECAUSE GOD MADE TRIAL OF THEM, AND FOUND THEM WORTHY OF HIMSELF."

To our Thanksgivings we must needs add our Prayers. For War, however adequate may be its motive, however admirable may be its conduct, is a great evil, and brings many mischievous consequences in its train. The fearful destruction of vigorous men must needs lower the physical and mental standard of the nation, and many formidable social questions, which were pressing for answer before the War will face us after the War in still more threatening forms. The vast destruction of wealth would of itself have

created a most difficult situation, but when it has to be faced in conjunction with so tremendous a dislocation of industry as has taken place, and so great a revolution in the personal habits of multitudes of both sexes, the social problem which will demand solution after the War must needs be extremely complicated and formidable. We pray, therefore, for wisdom and self-suppression, for genuine public spirit, for sympathy, for a willingness to learn, to accept novel and unwelcome truths, to preserve a just sense of proportion. We pray for the Church of CHRIST in all its branches, and especially for our dear Mother the CHURCH OF ENGLAND, that grace may be given to the Clergy to learn, and to unlearn, to discern the "SIGNS OF THE TIMES," and to serve the nation faithfully "FOR CHRIST'S SAKE." We pray for the Christian Laity, that a worthier sense of spiritual responsibility may be gained, a nobler courage of religious witness, a more discriminating loyalty, a more genuine and operative fellowship. Unquestionably the War has brought the Christian Churches under a searching test: unquestionably the Christian Conscience is troubled and perplexed by the seeming impotence of CHRIST'S Religion: unquestionably there is an eager desire for a more effective version of the

Gospel than has hitherto been preached, and for a more congruous and governing morality than has hitherto been observed. We pray for patience, wisdom, and courage. We are sure that the SPIRIT OF GOD is speaking to HIS Church in the dreadful happenings of the War, and we desire not to miss or to misunderstand the Divine Message. We know that our power to hear, and our power to understand are wonderfully conditioned by our loyalty to known truth: and therefore we pray for grace to repent of our sins, and to order our personal lives according to the Will of GOD. We pray for guidance in the most difficult but quite unavoidable reconstruction of our political and ecclesiastical institutions which will shortly confront us. We pray for others, for the leaders of the nation, for the leaders of classes and interests, for the leaders of opinion, for the heads of colleges and schools, where the young are trained. We pray that the War may bring us all to a healthier state of society, to a stronger unity of national life, not to the chaos and bitterness of revolution. While thus our thoughts stretch forward to the future, we necessarily pray for the needs of the moment, for the resolution that shall enable us to go forward to the end, for the fortitude that shall make us willing to sustain all

losses which victory shall inflict. We pray for our Soldiers and Sailors, on whom the brunt of the conflict falls. We pray for our Allies, who have suffered so cruelly at the hands of a barbarous enemy. We pray for our Enemies that their defeat may become to them a saving discipline, a purgatorial fire through which they shall be made clean, and brought once more into our fellowship. Our prayers rest on the sure conviction, which the Psalmist expressed in the words which I read as a text, the conviction which is the life of all religion and the backbone of human virtue, that GOD, RIGHTEOUS AND MERCIFUL, is reigning in the affairs of men, and in spite of their follies and crimes, is building up in their midst HIS own Kingdom of Goodness. "THE LORD REIGNETH; LET THE EARTH REJOICE; LET THE MULTITUDE OF ISLES BE GLAD. CLOUDS AND DARKNESS ARE ROUND ABOUT HIM: RIGHTEOUSNESS AND JUDGMENT ARE THE FOUNDATION OF HIS THRONE." That conviction of GOD'S Reign draws with it the certainty that for man the vitally important thing is to fight on GOD'S side. Then, and then only, human life, with its vicissitudes and sorrows, becomes charged with noble significance, and human success becomes stable and worthy. "O YE THAT LOVE THE LORD, HATE EVIL: HE PRESERVETH THE SOULS OF HIS

SAINTS ; HE DELIVERETH THEM OUT OF THE HAND
OF THE WICKED. LIGHT IS SOWN FOR THE
RIGHTEOUS, AND GLADNESS FOR THE UPRIGHT IN
HEART. BE GLAD IN THE LORD, YE RIGHTEOUS ;
AND GIVE THANKS TO HIS HOLY NAME."

XIII

THE DUTY OF PERSEVERANCE IN THE WAR¹

BUT JESUS SAID UNTO HIM, NO MAN, HAVING PUT HIS HAND TO THE PLOUGH, AND LOOKING BACK, IS FIT FOR THE KINGDOM OF GOD.—*St. Luke ix. 62.*

I. AFTER three years of war, and still with no clear vision of peace to sustain our spirits under the accumulated mass of anguish, we meet together in the House of the LORD to "CAST OUR BURDEN" upon HIM, Who knows the end as well as the beginning, and holds the threads of all human policies. It must needs be the case that we are moved by the dreadful situation in which we are standing to deep and searching thought. There are those among us who cannot rise above the sheer wretchedness of the spectacle which the World

¹ Preached in Durham Cathedral on the ninth Sunday after Trinity, August 5, 1917, at a Special Service on the conclusion of three years of War.

presents, who are so overwhelmed by the volume and intensity of human misery as to have no concern with the essential significance of the conflict, who ask for one thing only without regard to anything else, Peace. Especially is this disposition widely found within the ranks of professedly Christian men. The apparent incongruity between the spirit of Christianity and the practice of Warfare tortures them, disturbs their imagination, weighs on their conscience, and leads them to conclusions which may even carry them into the gravest dereliction of Duty. Almost daily there come to me through the post protests, appeals, and denunciations, of which the general burden and underlying assumption are that Peace is the first interest of Mankind, that the pursuit of Peace is the primary duty of Christians, that the Minister of CHRIST is self-convicted of unfaithfulness if he be not the advocate of Peace. It needs not that I should assure you that these communications have moved me to anxious and protracted thought. Again and again I have asked myself where lay the course of my personal duty as the Minister of CHRIST, what counsel I ought in HIS Name to offer my brethren at this difficult time, what direction I should as a Christian citizen myself pursue. Give me leave, therefore, very briefly to

review the situation as it presents itself to me to-day in retrospect of three years of War.

2. First of all, as a governing proposition, I submit that Peace can never properly or safely be regarded as the first interest of Mankind. In the moral order Justice comes before Peace, and must first be taken account of. Until Justice has been secured Peace can be no more than an ignoble refusal of man's primary task, immersing him in the weakness and degradation of self-woven servitude. With this governing postulate in mind, look back to the start of the War, three years ago. The Choice was sharply outlined before the British Empire, and it was clearly stated. Which interest should be primary with us,—Peace or Justice? We could have had Peace—at a price. We could have stood aside and witnessed unmoved the violation of Belgian territory in the teeth of treaty-guarantees. We could have stood aside and witnessed the destruction of France before a sudden and irresistible aggression. If Peace be indeed the primary interest of mankind, and if the preaching of Peace be the primary obligation of the Christian Church, then unquestionably Great Britain, confronted by the choice of Peace and War, should have kept the sword in the scabbard, and stood aside while BELGIUM was traversed, and

FRANCE overwhelmed. But, if the case be otherwise, if Justice has a prior and a loftier claim upon us, if, as BISHOP WESTCOTT held, "war is immeasurably better than the betrayal of a nation's trust, the neglect of its duty towards those who rightly look to it for help and protection," then the decision which our country made three years ago was the right decision, and we must thank GOD, the Author of all Justice, that we were led to take it.

3. It might indeed have been the case that we had misconceived the issue which at the time seemed so luminously clear. After three years of the War I submit that there remains no room for reasonable question. The true character of the issue at stake in this War has been made manifest to the world, not merely by the publication of state-papers disclosing the diplomacy which preceded the outbreak of hostilities, or by the cynical confessions of German statesmen, but even more impressively by the manner of German warfare. From the first excesses in BELGIUM the world has witnessed with horror and indignation a succession of outrages on sea and land culminating in the unspeakable infamy, which has reproduced in BELGIUM, FRANCE, and SERBIA the abominations of those slave raids, which we had been accustomed to regard as the worst features of

African Barbarism. GERMANY began by breaking treaties, she went on to trample underfoot the humane restraints on the cruelty of War which had grown into a tradition of civilized mankind, she has now become the outlaw and felon of the nations, staining sea and land with her crimes. During the last year the entrance of AMERICA into the War on the side of the Allies has completed the demonstration of the issues at stake. In a series of great speeches PRESIDENT WILSON has made clear the reasons why the most ardent peace-lovers in the world have been compelled to enter the arena of War. Those reasons might all be summed up in the single proposition which I have advanced as the postulate of right thinking, viz., that not Peace but Justice is the first concern of Man. GERMANY is now morally isolated. The War has taken the aspect of a Judicial execution done upon a criminal nation by the Civilized World, whose slowly strengthening comity it has violated, and whose hardly-gained heritage of humaneness it has laboured to destroy. What seemed to be the case three years ago is now known to be so.

4. From this fact I apprehend that two consequences must properly follow. If we are fighting for Justice, then we must go on fighting until Justice

has been secured—that on the one hand. If we are fighting for Justice, we must be ready, nay eager, to make Peace with GERMANY so soon as she is ready to satisfy Justice—that on the other hand. Give me leave to develop the argument more carefully.

The old proverb tells us that “STRIFE IS AS THE LETTING OUT OF WATER.” You cannot tell what situation will have been created by War. It is foolish to define in advance what must be the conditions of the final settlement, for when the time for making that settlement has arrived, the conditions may have changed, and declarations of purpose, however firmly phrased, may perforce be ignored. But certain broad conditions of a just Peace are obvious to us all, and have been stated again and again by the Statesmen of the Allied Powers. Other points may be the subject of negotiation, but the whole reason and purpose of the War will have been ignored unless BELGIUM and SERBIA be restored to independence, and compensated (so far as is possible) for the foul injuries inflicted on them; and unless FRANCE be compensated for the wrongs done to her, receive back the Provinces of which she was shamefully robbed in 1870, and have her frontier made reasonably

secure against future attacks. When GERMANY has made it plain that she accepts this irreducible minimum of Justice as a basis of negotiation, then we can begin to speak of Peace, not before. We drew the sword for Justice; we cannot sheath the sword until Justice has been secured. "NO MAN, HAVING PUT HIS HAND TO THE PLOUGH, AND LOOKING BACK, IS FIT FOR THE KINGDOM OF GOD." "War-weariness" is natural, but it is to be resisted as a temptation until we have "done out the duty."

5. While we fix this firmly in our minds, and set our faces as adamant against any surrender of Justice, let us be very honest with ourselves, and make sure that it is indeed Justice which we are seeking, not some lower thing masquerading under its name. The motives of a man are ever mingled, how much more those of a nation, and a company of nations! Territorial aggrandisement, that baser kind of imperialism which lusts to see the frontiers of Empire always advancing, commercial greed, private vengeance—these are evil factors, and none is absent from our society. We, as Christian men, have the duty laid upon us, first to cleanse our own motives, and then to the utmost of our power to hold the Nation true to its great

purpose of Justice. Truly when I contemplate the sufferings and losses of the War, the thought of prolonging it for one unnecessary day seems to me infinitely repulsive. The message which the Christian Church sends to the Government, as I understand that message, is just this. Devote all the resources of our Country to the War until the claims of Justice have been satisfied. Make as clear as you can to the Enemy that that is the meaning and end of our fighting. Meet and welcome every honest overture for Peace which proceeds on the basis of Justice; be resolute, and be placable. So great a sacrifice of British Manhood can only be justified by the victory of Justice. The Peace that shall follow a Crusade must register a spiritual victory. Having established a righteous peace in the relations of the peoples with one another, set yourselves without delay to the kindred task of establishing a righteous peace here at home. The achievement of external security is the first condition of domestic peace. Justice is the foundation of both. Without Justice Peace is hollow and unstable: and Liberty is but the masque of uncontrolled appetite. And Justice has its spring in the everlasting Hills. It is the Will of GOD.

6. We have come together to pray for the grace

of perseverance in the task to which we have been called, grace to rise above the weariness which threatens our purpose, grace to resist the exasperations which endanger our integrity. That is the first object of our assembly in the LORD'S House to-day. But with our prayers must needs go our thanksgiving. As we recall these three tragical years, and tell over the record of endurance and heroic conflict, we can but lift up our hearts in praise to HIM, from Whom alone such power of spiritual victory can come to men. We thank GOD for the lessons which have been taught to us (if but we had the wisdom to learn them), by our sailors and soldiers. What change in people's thinking is the War bringing about? asked a visitor from the East of a thoughtful friend and the answer was prompt and suggestive, "*For one thing death will count for less.*" Yes: we cannot look at Death quite in the old way, as if it were the most dreadful thing in the world, the final term of disaster, the very measure of human failure. We have seen our young men eagerly embracing Death at the summons of Duty, on the wave of an impulse which was wholly selfless. Martyrs, Crusaders, Knights of ancient Chivalry, every type of generous valour which had mocked at Death in the Name of Faith, Honour, and

Patriotism—we have witnessed them all on the stricken fields of War, not merely in chosen heroes, outstanding from the vulgar mass, but in a great multitude of men, drawn from every class and description of society, who have risen sublimely to embrace the Cause of Justice. We see them, as the sacred writer saw the heroes of Faith in the older time, “ENDURING AS SEEING HIM WHO IS INVISIBLE.” Inevitably we connect their conflict and passion with HIM, Whose Self-surrender to Death saves the world, “WHO FOR THE JOY THAT WAS SET BEFORE HIM ENDURED THE CROSS, DESPISING SHAME, AND HATH SAT DOWN AT THE RIGHT HAND OF THE THRONE OF GOD.” This sublime scorn of Death, this prompt choice of the way of sacrifice, this rich harvest of young men’s chivalry, restores in us the Faith and Hope which the woeful collapse of our optimistic, materialistic civilization had seemed to disallow and destroy. Like the old Pope, confronted with an amazing disclosure of cynical crime breaking out even within the Sanctuary itself, we rest our hearts on the sole redeeming incident of the sorry spectacle, the fresh spontaneous unreckoning chivalry which rushed to rescue the Oppressed :

But for the outcome, the brave starry birth
 Conciliating earth with all that cloud,
 Thank heaven as I do! Ay, such championship
 Of GOD at first blush, such prompt cheery thud
 Of glove on ground that answers ringingly
 The challenge of the false knight. . . .

Was the trial sore?

Temptation sharp? Thank GOD a second time!
 Why comes temptation but for man to meet
 And master and make crouch beneath his foot,
 And so be pedestalled in triumph? Pray
 "Lead us into no such temptations, Lord!"
 Yea, but, O THOU whose servants are the bold,
 Lead such temptations by the head and hair,
 Reluctant dragons, up to who dares fight,
 That so he may do battle and have praise!

Far scattered are their graves, the graves of our sons. The British dead are lying in crowded cemeteries behind the lines, on the blood-soaked heights of Gallipoli, in the pestiferous plains of Mesopotamia, amid the forests of Equatorial Africa, in the deserts of the Soudan, or quietly here at home in the old familiar churchyards, where from immemorial time their forefathers had been laid to rest. The British dead are sleeping deep beneath the insatiable sea which they have made eloquent with their valour. And some lie where they fell, broken beyond recovery, to pass unrecorded with the dust in which they are mingled. It makes no matter where they lie, or what monument they have.

"To famous men all the earth is a sepulchre," cried the greatest of Orators, "and their virtues shall be testified not only by the inscription on stone at home but in all lands wheresoever in the unwritten record of the mind which far beyond any monument will remain with all men everlastingly." There is yet a higher note, which the great Athenian did not strike, but which for us Christians prevails through and above lament and time-defying patriotism. "THE WORLD PASSETH AWAY AND THE LUST THEREOF, BUT HE THAT DOETH THE WILL OF GOD ABIDETH FOR EVER." "The Will of GOD"—it is not unknown, it is not hard to know. "HE HATH SHEWED THEE, O MAN, WHAT IS GOOD; AND WHAT DOTTH THE LORD REQUIRE OF THEE, BUT TO DO JUSTLY, AND TO LOVE MERCY, AND TO WALK HUMBLY WITH THY GOD?" Yes, seen in the light of its primary motives, judged by the Ideal which has been the pilot-star of its grim warfare, the War for Justice takes its place in the endless conflict in which GOD HIMSELF is contending, and in which alone men rise to greatness and immortality. Courage, then, though our hearts are breaking, and our homes are empty. "CHRIST IS REIGNING FROM THE TREE." GOD "wins through" at last, and they who fight for the Cause of Justice

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share the Victory of GOD. "WHEREFORE, MY BELOVED BRETHREN, BE YE STEDFAST, UNMOVABLE, ALWAYS ABOUNDING IN THE WORK OF THE LORD, FORASMUCH AS YE KNOW THAT YOUR LABOUR IS NOT VAIN IN THE LORD."

XIV

SAMUEL AND CHRIST ¹

AND SAMUEL SAID, AS THY SWORD HATH MADE WOMEN CHILDLESS, SO SHALL THY MOTHER BE CHILDLESS AMONG WOMEN. AND SAMUEL HEWED AGAG IN PIECES BEFORE THE LORD IN GILGAL.—
1 Samuel xv. 33.

YE HAVE HEARD THAT IT WAS SAID, THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOUR, AND HATE THINE ENEMY: BUT I SAY UNTO YOU, LOVE YOUR ENEMIES, AND PRAY FOR THEM THAT PERSECUTE YOU.—*St. Matthew* v. 43, 44.

1. IT would be difficult to exaggerate the contrast between these passages. The painful narrative of the destruction of the Amalekites and the Sermon on the Mount are wide as the poles asunder, for while the one reflects the savagery of a primitive age, the other expresses "THE MIND OF CHRIST." It is still worth while to consider, and understand, the meaning of the contrast. For, strange as it must needs appear to us now, the Christian teacher of a quite recent time felt himself bound in duty to

¹ Preached in Manchester Cathedral on the fifth Sunday after Trinity, July 8, 1917, at Mattins.

vindicate for the two passages a substantial agreement, so that both might be offered to CHRIST'S people as illustrations of their own duty. A single example, and a notable one, will not be thought superfluous. While yet an Anglican, JOHN HENRY NEWMAN preached a remarkable sermon on the subject, "Jewish zeal a pattern to Christians." He began by laying down the general rule that "it is with reference to our own duties as individuals that we should read every part of Scripture." He allowed that the specific commandments given to the Jews could not be considered binding on Christians, but he contended that the temper of mind which those commandments were designed to create, and did create in the Jews, was required of Christians. With characteristic courage NEWMAN passed in review those passages in the Old Testament which are most repulsive to the modern mind, emphasized the circumstances which seem to exaggerate their repulsiveness, and insisted on their value for the direction of Christian men.

Now, doubtless, we at this day are not to put men to death for idolatry; but doubtless also, whatsoever temper of mind the fulfilment of this command implied in the Jew, such, essentially, must be our temper of mind, whatever else it may be also.

Even the subtlety and eloquence of the great Tractarian preacher fail to render plausible the paradox which he formulates; and it may be questioned whether religious literature can offer a more grotesque illustration of perverted thinking than the passage in which NEWMAN essays to justify on Christian principles the savage acts of the Jews :

Doubtless while the servants of GOD executed HIS judgments, they still could bend in pity and in hope over the young and old whom they slew with the sword—merciful amid their severity;—an unspeakable trial, doubtless, of faith and self-mastery, and requiring a very exalted and refined spirit successfully to undergo. Doubtless as they slew those who suffered for the sins of their fathers, their thoughts turned, first to the fall of Adam, next to that unseen state where all inequalities are righted, and they surrendered themselves as instruments unto the LORD, of mysteriously working out good through evil. . . . O that there was in us this high temper of mingled austerity and love.

NEWMAN was led to this ludicrous sophistry, for ludicrous it is, by an utterly mistaken conception of Holy Scripture, a conception common to the religious world of his day, which still confuses the conscience of many Christians, and figures prominently in the anti-Christian invective of our time. NEWMAN himself escaped to some extent from

this error when he was dealing with ecclesiastical history, so that he has been claimed with considerable justification as the Father of the Modernists. In advancing the theory of development he brought into the region of religious thinking an idea capable of application far beyond any which he himself was prepared to sanction, but which others could hardly be withheld from making.

2. The error which led NEWMAN to his grotesque apology for the savageries of ancient Jewish warfare finds formal expression in the Thirty-nine Articles, where the essential agreement of the two Testaments is strongly asserted, and it underlies the system on which the choice of lessons for reading in the church is made. If we examine it carefully, we shall find that it is but a special illustration of a larger misunderstanding of the Divine Method with respect to Mankind. For the sacred literature is a faithful reflex of the sacred history: the crudities of the narrative disclose the rudimentary phase of the national development, and remind the modern reader that he is concerned with beliefs and practices which are as remote from his own or, at least, from what should be his own, as the procedures of infancy are from the behaviour of a grown man. NEWMAN argued confidently from

the number and variety of the commandments given to ancient Israel to the conclusion that they must in some sense be binding on Christians, whereas the precisely opposite inference is seen to follow from the principle of development. ST. PAUL'S view of the Mosaic Law as the "TUTOR," or pedagogue, who leads to CHRIST harmonizes easily with this inference; and it is surprising that NEWMAN ignored the teaching of the Apostle. We shall consider the record of the destruction of the Amalekites, not as an example which Christians ought to follow, or as the exhibition of a temper which Christians ought to possess, but as a solemn warning against those fierce dispositions which, when we indulge them, carry us back to the ferocity of barbarism, and contradict the Revelation which CHRIST has made to us of GOD'S Will and our Duty. Turn now to the text.

3. When SAMUEL "HEWED AGAG IN PIECES BEFORE THE LORD IN GILGAL" he was acting in accordance with a very savage conception of GOD. You will find the same conception illustrated in one of the most painful narratives of the Old Testament, that which records the slaughter of the seven sons of SAUL to propitiate JEHOVAH during a severe famine. As in the more familiar case of

MOLOCH, so in the case of JEHOVAH, the primitive worshippers assumed that the most acceptable offering was a human sacrifice. "We cannot doubt," writes a high authority, "that the slaughter of AGAG was a eucharistic sacrifice akin to that which was in use among the Arabs after a successful fray, and which might be a human sacrifice."¹ The injunction in the Pentateuch to destroy the Canaanite peoples was categorical and comprehensive. "THOU SHALT SAVE ALIVE NOTHING THAT BREATHETH" ran the pitiless order, and the AMALEKITES would merit no gentler treatment. They were placed under the ban, that is, solemnly devoted to JEHOVAH. In this situation there could be no escape for them. "NONE DEVOTED," runs the law in Leviticus, "WHICH SHALL BE DEVOTED OF MEN, SHALL BE RANSOMED: HE SHALL SURELY BE PUT TO DEATH." We may suppose, if we will, that the sacred law fell behind the moral standard of the time, and that SAUL in sparing AGAG was but following the higher perception of duty which his generation had attained. If so, SAMUEL did but provide an early example of that moral backwardness which has too often marked religious teachers, both in ancient and in modern

¹ Vide *Ecc. Bib.* i. 75.

times. He stood sternly on his text, and his tradition. Like a medieval inquisitor or a Calvinist preacher of the seventeenth century he rejected as sinful the promptings of pity. His was the morality of "A TOOTH FOR A TOOTH," he would visit on AGAG the fate which AGAG would have visited on him had he had the chance. "AND SAMUEL SAID, AS THY SWORD HATH MADE WOMEN CHILDLESS, SO SHALL THY MOTHER BE CHILDLESS AMONG WOMEN. AND SAMUEL HEWED AGAG IN PIECES BEFORE THE LORD IN GILGAL."

4. Very gradually an advance from this savage conception of GOD was made. It is the peculiar glory of the Hebrew Prophets that they purged the national religion of its cruder elements, and lifted it to a higher plane. Contrast with the language and conduct of SAMUEL the glorious oracle of MICAH, which has been fitly described as the high-water mark of Old Testament religion: it is in the form of a short colloquy between a pagan inquirer and the Prophet. "WHEREWITH SHALL I COME BEFORE THE LORD, AND BOW MYSELF BEFORE THE HIGH GOD? SHALL I COME BEFORE HIM WITH BURNT OFFERINGS, WITH CALVES OF A YEAR OLD? WILL THE LORD BE PLEASED WITH THOUSANDS OF RAMS, OR WITH TEN THOUSANDS OF RIVERS OF OIL?

SHALL I GIVE MY FIRSTBORN FOR MY TRANSGRESSION, THE FRUIT OF MY BODY FOR THE SIN OF MY SOUL?" These are the questions which go to the root of all religion, however variously they may be phrased. How am I to conceive of GOD? How am I to translate HIS claim on me into terms of sacrifice and service? Here is the Prophet's answer: "HE HATH SHEWED THEE, O MAN, WHAT IS GOOD: AND WHAT DOTHTHE LORD REQUIRE OF THEE, BUT TO DO JUSTLY, AND TO LOVE MERCY, AND TO WALK HUMBLY WITH THY GOD." Perhaps two centuries later the prophet JEREMIAH formulated a similar theology in a passage which is hardly inferior, if it be at all inferior, to the great oracle of MICAH: "THUS SAITH THE LORD, LET NOT THE WISE MAN GLORY IN HIS WISDOM, NEITHER LET THE MIGHTY MAN GLORY IN HIS MIGHT, LET NOT THE RICH MAN GLORY IN HIS RICHES: BUT LET HIM THAT GLORIETH GLORY IN THIS, THAT HE UNDERSTANDETH, AND KNOWETH ME, THAT I AM THE LORD WHICH EXERCISE LOVINGKINDNESS, JUDGMENT, AND RIGHTEOUSNESS IN THE EARTH: FOR IN THESE THINGS I DELIGHT, SAITH THE LORD." These examples of the prophetic teaching must suffice to indicate the fact and the nature of the development of Jewish Religion. The climax

of the process was reached in the Gospel. Between the savage theology and practice of SAMUEL and the Sermon on the Mount stretches the long and graduated witness of the Prophets. "WHEN THE FULNESS OF THE TIME CAME, GOD SENT FORTH HIS SON." JESUS CHRIST speaks with no uncertain voice, calmly setting side by side the Law of MOSES and HIS own: "YE HAVE HEARD THAT IT WAS SAID, THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOUR, AND HATE THINE ENEMY: BUT I SAY UNTO YOU, LOVE YOUR ENEMIES, AND PRAY FOR THEM THAT PERSECUTE YOU." The coping-stone has been placed on the arch of revelation when this exalted morality is directly linked with a conception of GOD as the Universal FATHER, Whose impartial Love embraces all mankind. "THAT YE MAY BE SONS OF YOUR FATHER WHICH IS IN HEAVEN, FOR HE MAKETH HIS SUN TO RISE ON THE EVIL AND THE GOOD: AND SENDETH RAIN ON THE JUST AND THE UNJUST." There can be no advance beyond this point: CHRIST sketches an ideal towards which HIS servants are called to move, though, perhaps, they can never in the circumstances of this world hope to realize it. It is as far removed as possible from the temper of SAMUEL.

5. It will be said, and said reasonably, that in

setting side by side the savage procedure of SAMUEL and the teaching of CHRIST, there is an important difference to be kept in mind. The prophet acted in a public capacity, dealing with his nation's enemy, not with a private foe. CHRIST in HIS moral teaching seems never to have gone outside the sphere of private morality. There is a broad distinction to be made between the two cases. We may grant this, and yet maintain that the conception of GOD which required that AGAG should be hewn in pieces as a devoted sacrifice, and the conception of GOD which inspires the Sermon on the Mount, are so profoundly different that the morality which they severally require, and ultimately compel, must needs reflect the difference in both spheres of human behaviour. Public morality not less than private must tend to become congruous with the creed which inspires it. The theology will give colour and direction to the ethical scheme. There is a difference undoubtedly between public and private morality, but the governing principles are the same in both, and both must move towards the same objective. There must be a growing approximation between the two until in the end the distinction between them passes wholly away.

6. As we review the history of Christendom, and

trace the gradual but in the main continuous process of moral advance, not merely in private morality, but also in judicature, in social habitudes, in the relations of nations with one another, I think the candid student would admit that there had been an approximation of public morality to the principles of the Gospel. Certainly the statement that this was the case might have been safely ventured a few years ago. No one would have been likely to challenge its substantial truth. There was a waxing optimism in the air, and the social millennium seemed within the range of practical politics. Now it is otherwise. Into our pleasant, busy, improving world, with its confident anticipations of unhindered progress, and its bright Utopias of secular well-being, there has crashed the fearful tragedy of the War; and we stand after three years on the hither side of a chasm, beyond which, at an inaccessible distance, our older world of complaisant optimism is seen as an alien thing. As we contemplate Europe at War, nay, not Europe only but the world itself, we seem to see a great reversion to the morality of SAMUEL, an insolent repudiation of the morality of CHRIST. It cannot be reasonably disputed that within recent years there has made its appearance in Christendom a menacing movement of deliberate opposition to

Christian principles of conduct. A well-informed writer speaks of a "strong anti-Christian crusade" as proceeding in a Cambridge college during the last decade.

The whole tone of feeling in the University both on moral and on religious questions had been for some years very unsettled, partly owing to the preaching of hedonist or neo-Hellenic ideas, which were too often made attractive as the excuse for sexual perversion and secret vice, but still more owing to the offence caused to the ablest and most honest undergraduates by the foolish dogmas, incessant quarrellings, and obvious ineffectiveness, of professing Christians.¹

Cambridge does not stand alone. Probably the situation which MR. RAVEN describes exists substantially in other Universities, and perhaps generally in society. We must not then suppose that the pagan reversion which has swept Germany into the wickedness of this unparalleled War is merely a German phenomenon. It is rather a poison which runs throughout our modern civilization, and which for reasons local, racial, and sociological, has had freer course in Germany than elsewhere. Within the professedly Christian sphere, men seem to have deserted the New Testament for the Old, and to be

¹ Vide *What Think ye of Christ?* by Rev. Charles E. Raven, p. xvii. Macmillan.

adopting the morals of SAMUEL in their conduct of the War, rather than the morals of CHRIST. Indeed SAMUEL'S words might serve as the formula of the method known as "Reprisals." "AS THY SWORD HATH MADE WOMEN CHILDLESS SO SHALL THY MOTHER BE CHILDLESS AMONG WOMEN."

7. I observe with deep satisfaction that our soldiers and statesmen refuse to be hustled by popular clamour into any departure from the only legitimate point of view, from which military operations may be regarded by Christian men.

"I venture to say," said LORD DERBY in the House of Lords, "that the whole country will associate itself with the view that we are not going to try to imitate the German in his brutality, and that the idea of an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth in the way of massacring women and children is absolutely repugnant to this nation. In any question of reprisals we must have a distinct military objective, something by which we can achieve not only the killing of soldiers, but the destruction of munition works and factories for the construction of guns."¹

"If there were to be reprisals without a military objective," said a gallant soldier, the Duke of ATHOLL, "let them take the form of trial by court-martial after the War of those responsible for the raids." He said further that "he did not think we

¹ Vide *Times*, June 27, 1917.

would ever get British officers to undertake deliberate raids for the purpose of assassinations as the Germans did." ¹

With the tidings of yet another air-raid on London fresh in our minds, and the natural resentment against brutalities so cruel and so futile gathering force within us, there is obvious and urgent need that we should take the whole subject into the House of the Lord, and in His realized Presence determine what we should say, and what we should do. It is of course a comparatively easy task, to which at present but too many persons apply themselves, to find a casuistic justification for "Reprisals," but there is grave danger that, while we so employ ourselves, we should lose sight of two considerations, which it is solemnly important that we should keep in mind. On the one hand, there can be no doubt that the motives which lie behind the popular agitation for "Reprisals" cannot be reconciled with Christian morality. On the other hand, there is very great danger that Christians shall lose sight of their distinctive duty in this War. What is that distinctive duty but to guard the principles of CHRIST from total neglect? Would we have a safe rule by which to determine what indeed Christian

¹ *Newcastle Daily Journal*, June 26, 1917.

principles require in the conduct of War? I would suggest that we may find it by holding our action close to our conception of GOD. What is congruous with the Mind of the GOD Whom JESUS CHRIST revealed? War, if it be waged for just ends, which otherwise could not be secured, is a Christian duty, for it follows directly from the belief in GOD's Righteousness. The methods necessary to secure victory are legitimate, when the decision to wage War is justified. The one includes the other. Unjust wars and unnecessarily cruel methods of warfare are condemned on the same principle. Both imply the admission of motives which the revealed Character of GOD disallows. This determining of conduct by creed is surely what the LORD meant when HE laid down the tremendous proposition, "YE THEREFORE SHALL BE PERFECT, AS YOUR HEAVENLY FATHER IS PERFECT." This is the assumption of ST. PAUL when he says dismayingly, "BE YE IMITATORS OF GOD." It follows that the Christian is at once the most tenacious and the most placable of fighters. He fights on principle, because no otherwise could he fulfil his duty. He cannot sheathe the sword while the task is unfinished. He must "do out the duty" to the end. But he will not protract the War beyond its proper term by

associating with his main purpose subsidiary ends of ambition or vengeance. As his warfare is unstained by cruelty, so his victory serves neither greed, nor pride, nor hatred, but righteousness. Do such declarations seem too remote from the hard facts of conflict? Ask rather, Are they not so plainly Christian that to deny them were all one with banishing CHRIST from life? We, who own ourselves HIS followers, cannot ignore them. We must stand for the Christian interpretation, conduct, and result of War, *and by so doing make Wars to cease in all the earth.* Otherwise, what worth or meaning has Christianity? "YE ARE THE SALT OF THE EARTH," HE said to HIS disciples in the days of HIS Flesh, and still HE says to us, "BUT IF THE SALT HAVE LOST ITS SAVOUR, WHEREWITH SHALL IT BE SALTED? IT IS THENCEFORTH GOOD FOR NOTHING, BUT TO BE CAST OUT AND TRODDEN UNDER FOOT OF MEN."

XV

THE HARVEST AND THE WAR¹

SOW TO YOURSELVES IN RIGHTEOUSNESS, REAP ACCORDING TO MERCY: BREAK UP YOUR FALLOW GROUND: FOR IT IS TIME TO SEEK THE LORD.—*Hosea* x. 12.

BE NOT DECEIVED: GOD IS NOT MOCKED: FOR WHATSOEVER A MAN SOWETH, THAT SHALL HE ALSO REAP.—*Galatians* vi. 7.

1. NEVER, for many a long year, have we watched the fortunes of the English Harvest with an anxiety so painful, and so well-founded. Among the more disconcerting surprises of the War has been the rapid development of submarine warfare; and perhaps the greatest scandal of German methods has been the application of submarines to the purpose of blockading these islands by the sinking of merchant vessels in circumstances alien to the precedents of civilized fighting and repulsive to the humane instincts of mankind. We have discovered that our ancient immunity from hostile attack is

¹ Preached in York Minster on Thursday, October 4, 1917, at the Harvest Thanksgiving.

passing away, that Science is binding us to the continent by viewless bridges which cannot be destroyed, so that we, like our neighbours of the mainland of Europe, though not yet in the same measure, are menaced by the risks of invasion and the cutting off of our food-supplies. In spite of the British Fleet, to whose unsleeping vigilance and unfailing valour we all owe a debt of gratitude which cannot be exaggerated, there has been so considerable a destruction of ships and cargoes, that the possibility of a supreme national calamity has been outlined on the horizon, and can only be averted by prudence and economy. Abstinence from waste and a reduction in normal consumption have become civic duties of the first importance, and public opinion ought to, and surely will, support the national authority in dealing severely with those bad citizens who fail to perform them. From all this it has followed, that a new interest attaches to our home-grown harvest, for we hardly know how far we may have to depend for our national maintenance on what we can provide from our own land. Hitherto, indeed, our privations in this War have been petty, so petty that, when we remember the hardships so cheerfully borne by our brave Allies in France and Italy, and reflect on the extreme

miseries into which the civil population of BELGIUM, SERBIA, ROUMANIA, and POLAND has been plunged, we are almost ashamed to speak of them, but the high prices of provisions do certainly bear hardly on our poorest people, and we have to contemplate a future in which we may all have to learn by personal experience the severity of civilian discomfort which a long-continued War must create. In these circumstances we have taken an almost painful interest in the growth of the crops, and in the changing fortunes of the harvest. Now that the process of ingathering has been completed, and we know that, if our highest expectations have not been satisfied, our worst fears have certainly not been justified, we come together for our annual thanksgiving with a deepened sense of our dependence on the Will of GOD, and a more vivid consciousness of HIS unfailing Providence. We have discovered our own weakness: we have witnessed HIS renewed bounty: we bend our heads in reverent worship before the AUTHOR of all good. "*We praise THEE, O GOD; we acknowledge THEE to be the LORD.*"

2. The War has raised questions the answering of which will bring about great changes in our national system. For one thing it has driven us

all to realize the gravity of that neglect of agriculture which has obtained in recent years, and it has opened our eyes to the harsh conditions under which our agricultural population has been living. We have been driven by the spur of necessity, but we shall be greatly guilty if, when that spur has ceased to urge us, we forget the visions of duty and interest which it forced us to gain. In peace we must not forget the lessons of the War, and suffer ourselves to fall back into the evils from which we were for the time lifted. No doubt it is the case that a serious attempt to develop English agriculture, and to raise the standard of living among agricultural labourers, will present formidable problems which the highest wisdom of our economists and statesmen will be needed to solve, but economists and statesmen cannot succeed unless they build on a sure foundation, and work with a sound estimate of their materials. They will not arrive at the true solutions of the social problems, which they must perforce handle, unless they work continuously in view of the deeper issue of morality which really dominates all properly human questions. We cannot go far in our essays at social improvement before we discover that the subject we have in hand, though its aspects be

many, is essentially neither economical nor political but moral. Housing, education, the reform of the liquor laws, land-tenure, wages, profits—every one raises questions peculiar to itself, but all are intertwined so subtly that to deal with one is to affect all, and to leave out any is to endanger the success of the rest. At the root of everything lies the moral issue, for, as the LORD said, “MAN DOTH NOT LIVE BY BREAD ALONE: BUT BY EVERY WORD THAT PROCEEDETH OUT OF THE MOUTH OF GOD DOTH MAN LIVE.” What view do we take of Man, of his rights in society, of his obligations to society, of his essential needs, of his true happiness, of his final destiny? On the answer to these questions will turn finally both our decision on the specific practical policies, and the success in the long run of what we actually decide to do. Taking the familiar procedures of Nature as illustrations of their doctrine, this is the core of the messages which Prophets and Apostles delivered to their contemporaries, and in the sacred Scriptures have transmitted to us.

3. For my text I have placed together two passages illustrating respectively the prophetic and the apostolic teaching. HOSEA and ST. PAUL agree both in the substance and in the method of their witness. Both, by appealing to the familiar course

of Nature, imply that they acknowledged in Nature a trustworthy revelation of the Mind of GOD and of the Manner of HIS Providence. Both, by drawing an analogy between morals and agriculture, indicate alike the necessity and the inexorable limits of human effort. Note how urgent is HOSEA'S appeal for moral effort ; and how sternly ST. PAUL insists on the connexion between the quality and the consequence of human conduct. The phraseology of agriculture is luminous and exact when applied to morals. The Prophet entreats his countrymen to apply to their politics the simple logic of their industry. Would they win acceptance in the eyes of the HOLY ONE, and gain at HIS Hands the Benediction of social order and prosperity ? There was but one road to that goal, the well-trodden road which they traversed habitually when they matched their sowing to the Harvest they desired. "SOW TO YOURSELVES IN RIGHTEOUSNESS, REAP ACCORDING TO MERCY : BREAK UP YOUR FALLOW GROUND : FOR IT IS TIME TO SEEK THE LORD, TILL HE COME AND RAIN RIGHTEOUSNESS UPON YOU." He strengthens his appeal by pointing to the notorious consequences of the opposite course which too long the nation had pursued : "YE HAVE PLOWED WICKEDNESS, YE HAVE REAPED INIQUITY :

YE HAVE EATEN THE FRUIT OF LIES: FOR THOU DIDST TRUST IN THY WAY, IN THE MULTITUDE OF THY MIGHTY MEN." It was probably the case that the Hebrew Prophet held morals and fortune far more closely together than we should be disposed to do, and indeed than we could do at our stage of history. But surely human experience justifies his main assumption, that the roots of social well-being lie in social righteousness, that no blaze of secular prosperity can long maintain itself if the very system of society be poisoned with injustice. Is not this the moral of every Revolution? Do not the violence and destructiveness of Revolutions attest the magnitude of the evils which provoked them? If in a revolutionary epoch like our own any community would escape the fell and perilous experience of Revolution, could it follow wiser or more relevant counsel than that which the Prophet HOSEA offered to Israel nearly 3000 years ago? May it not be postulated in political reasoning that the stability of a state-system is precisely determined by its intrinsic righteousness? What is true of nations is not less true of individuals. When we pass from the Hebrew Prophet to the Christian Apostle we pass from the sphere of national religion to that of personal. What the Prophets were feeling after, and slowly

gaining, formed the starting-point of Apostolic Teaching, viz. the truth that Religion is primarily a concern of the individual, and that the roots of morals are within the human heart itself.

4. ST. PAUL was not addressing a nation: he was writing to little communities of converted Galatians, "THE CHURCHES OF GALATIA," men and women who had been bred as pagans, or as dependents on the Jewish synagogues, to think of religion as largely external, and of morality as mainly conventional. Especially those Gentile believers found it difficult to accept the severe standard of personal rectitude and purity which the Apostles insisted upon. Conduct seemed to them mainly a matter of custom: they accepted the standards of morality just as they accepted the fashions of social intercourse: they did not connect their actions very closely with their conscience or with any other law than that of use and wont. The sternness of ST. PAUL'S language shows that he knew himself to be confronted by a formidable adversary. The very essentials of religion were at stake, and the Galatians were as men moving blindfolded on the verge of a precipice. "BE NOT DECEIVED: GOD IS NOT MOCKED: FOR WHATSOEVER A MAN SOWETH, THAT SHALL HE ALSO REAP.

FOR HE THAT SOWETH UNTO HIS OWN FLESH SHALL OF THE FLESH REAP CORRUPTION : BUT HE THAT SOWETH UNTO THE SPIRIT SHALL OF THE SPIRIT REAP ETERNAL LIFE. AND LET US NOT BE WEARY IN WELL DOING : FOR IN DUE SEASON WE SHALL REAP, IF WE FAINT NOT."

5. I must needs think that these lessons of harvest - tide, though familiar, cannot be thought superfluous at the present time. Perhaps the most pressing danger which now threatens democracy is the disposition to ignore the moral conditions of its own progress. It is tempted to stop short at the national stage of morals to which the prophetic teaching was mainly addressed, and to disregard the higher stage which the Apostle's doctrine implied. Democracy, it must always be remembered, like the Hebrew Prophets, contemplates national rather than individual obligations, and accordingly finds more which serves its practical purpose in the national literature which forms the Old Testament, than in the literature of discipleship which forms the New. Yet morality has been progressive, and that of the New Testament is higher than that of the Old. The democratic politician, perhaps, is apt to be rather impatient of appeals to the individual conscience and reason, and eager, too eager, to

reform society by the short and easy method of legislative coercion. He forgets that laws, however excellent in themselves, can only have their effect if they be honestly administered, and if they be loyally obeyed: that the deepest ills and sorrows of mankind are not those which statutes can remove: that in another sense than the great Pleader¹ intended "law is the servant and not the master of society." "*Most schemes of political improvement are very laughable things,*" said DR. JOHNSON bluntly, but with large justification. He meant, perhaps, that such schemes assume for their successful working so much which they cannot secure, that they too often mock the hopes they have raised.

6. This War, the greatest War in history, has been unprecedented in many sinister respects—in the perfidious cynicism which forced it on the world, in the savage ruthlessness of its methods, in the scientific perfection of its weapons, in the cruel sufferings which it has inflicted on civilian populations, in the appalling destruction of wealth, in the far-reaching political and economical changes which it is causing. In one salutary respect, however, the War is without precedent. Hitherto it has passed, as a very secure deduction from experience, that

¹ Sir John Simon, in the Malcolm case.

domestic reforms, however urgently required, are arrested, postponed, even defeated altogether, by the ruinous obsessions of conflict. But we are witnessing the novel combination of War and Social Reform. It is surely, when we consider the fact, deeply significant that, in the mid-course of a desperate struggle, we should be putting our hands to a great project of educational reform. Perhaps the explanation of the novelty lies in our perception that the War is itself the result of education, wrongly conceived, and wrongly directed. We see in the War the Harvest of an ill sowing. We see that, if we would make an end of this ancient Curse, it will not be enough to defeat Germany, though that would seem to be the indispensable first step, unless we get the shaping of the people, their moral and intellectual training, sound and efficient. We cannot get the Harvest of lasting Peace if we sow in the minds of the young the dragon's teeth of envy, self-seeking, and ambition. "BE NOT DECEIVED: GOD IS NOT MOCKED: FOR WHATSOEVER A MAN SOWETH, THAT SHALL HE ALSO REAP." We must establish in the minds of our people that truth which it is so impossible to deny, and so difficult really to believe, that "no one ever did a designed injury to another, but at the same time he did a much greater to

himself." We must secure patriotism by divorcing it from that immoral and aggressive nationalism, which in its completest development has carried Germany into her immense crime. "THE WORK OF RIGHTEOUSNESS SHALL BE PEACE: AND THE EFFECT OF RIGHTEOUSNESS QUIETNESS AND CONFIDENCE FOR EVER."

7. If this indeed be the case, if the aggression of Germany which has brought such extreme misery on the world has its source in the false ideals and false disciplines which have perverted the soul of the German people, then it follows that in fighting Germany the Allies are really fighting a conception of human life and human duty so deeply wrong, so corrupting, so contagious, that the whole spiritual future of Mankind requires its defeat and repudiation. We may apply to this tremendous struggle, though it be fought with the limitless material resources of modern industrialism and modern science, the great words of ST. PAUL: "OUR WRESTLING IS NOT AGAINST FLESH AND BLOOD, BUT AGAINST THE PRINCIPALITIES, AGAINST THE POWERS, AGAINST THE WORLD-RULERS OF THIS DARKNESS, AGAINST THE SPIRITUAL HOSTS OF WICKEDNESS IN THE HEAVENLY PLACES." For the moment the immitigable conflict may define itself by political

descriptions, but, even while we conceive it thus, we know that the same conflict proceeds within every community and within every individual. We are fighting the battle of the German People as well as our own when we say in the memorable phrase of the American President that the object of our fighting is "that the world may be made safe for democracy." Remember that the higher your view of the character of the conflict, the more you are bound to fight on till the victory has been won. If this be in its essence a spiritual warfare, then the LORD'S Words hold good with respect to it: "HE THAT ENDURETH TO THE END, THE SAME SHALL BE SAVED." The issues of the War are as yet veiled from us, but not our duty or the end of our warfare. There are victories worse than defeats: defeats which are better than victories. The essential thing is to "do out the duty": so doing we cannot finally fail. "LET US NOT BE WEARY IN WELL DOING: FOR IN DUE SEASON WE SHALL REAP, IF WE FAINT NOT."

XVI

THE VISION OF THE INVISIBLE¹

HE ENDURED, AS SEEING HIM WHO IS INVISIBLE.—*Hebrews xi. 27.*

I. THE Christian Church was historic and militant from the first, with the gathered and growing power of a great tradition of moral endeavour bearing it forward from the past, and the challenge of a mighty conflict in its ears. A solemn urgency lay upon those earliest believers, for the time was short and the task great. Ever they heard the warning summons of their Lord, "WE MUST WORK THE WORKS OF HIM THAT SENT ME WHILE IT IS DAY. THE NIGHT COMETH, WHEN NO MAN CAN WORK." There were times of depression when the outlook seemed dark, and Christian courage sank ; times of confusion when discord broke up the fellowship of Faith, and there was no clear vision of Truth ;

¹ Preached in Liverpool to an Assembly of Doctors and Nurses on Sunday, October 14, 1917.

times of cowardice when the Church would make terms with the World, and shrank timidly from the magnitude of her LORD'S claim. In such dark hours the Past, with its treasury of personal heroism, its precedents of fortitude, its glowing records of victory against odds, was the strength of the Christian Army, the source from which, as from a well-stored arsenal, it replenished its fighting strength. The Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews appears to have lived in one of these dark hours, and to have addressed himself to the task of rallying the Christian Forces. In this noble chapter, from which I have taken the text, we notice that he turned to the sacred past, and from it drew the appeal which he made to his brethren. He showed them that they were being called to a warfare which had been illustrated by a long line of champions, and which found its supreme exponent in the Divine MASTER Himself. Infinitely various had been the circumstances in which the "GOOD FIGHT OF THE FAITH" had been fought, but in its essence that Fight, continuing through the ages, had been the same; all the Great Army of the combatants had stood for the same truth, and were destined to receive the same reward. Not yet, he says, not now: the battle still proceeds,

and victory tarries. Your part is yet to be played, your passion yet to be endured, and you, too, shall join the Faithful Host. "THEREFORE LET US ALSO, SEEING WE ARE COMPASSED ABOUT WITH SO GREAT A CLOUD OF WITNESSES, LAY ASIDE EVERY WEIGHT, AND THE SIN WHICH DOTHS SO EASILY BESET US, AND LET US RUN WITH PATIENCE THE RACE THAT IS SET BEFORE US, LOOKING UNTO JESUS, THE AUTHOR AND PERFECTER OF OUR FAITH, WHO FOR THE JOY THAT WAS SET BEFORE HIM ENDURED THE CROSS, DESPISING SHAME, AND HATH SATE DOWN AT THE RIGHT HAND OF THE THRONE OF GOD."

2. In the retrospect of Israel's history two names stood out with distinctive and unrivalled splendour, that of ABRAHAM, the "Friend of God," with whom first the Covenant, source and pledge of Israel's spiritual supremacy, had been made; and that of MOSES, the Liberator and Law-giver, who had led the nation out of "the House of Bondage," and brought the Law, written by the Finger of GOD Himself, from the cloud-wrapped heights of Sinai. In the sacred legend MOSES was set above all other prophets by title of the unique intimacy of his intercourse with JEHOVAH. There in the Scripture stood the record, which established his pre-eminence

on the express declaration of JEHOVAH: "HE SAID, HEAR NOW MY WORDS: IF THERE BE A PROPHET AMONG YOU, I THE LORD WILL MAKE MYSELF KNOWN UNTO HIM IN A VISION, I WILL SPEAK WITH HIM IN A DREAM. MY SERVANT MOSES IS NOT SO: HE IS FAITHFUL IN ALL MINE HOUSE: WITH HIM WILL I SPEAK MOUTH TO MOUTH, EVEN MANIFESTLY AND NOT IN DARK SPEECHES: AND THE FORM OF THE LORD SHALL HE BEHOLD: WHEREFORE, THEN, WERE YE NOT AFRAID TO SPEAK AGAINST MY SERVANT, AGAINST MOSES?"

This vision of JEHOVAH, which MOSES alone was permitted to enjoy, was indeed conceived of in the crudely materialistic fashion of primitive thinkers. There are narratives in the Pentateuch of an almost barbarous simplicity, but as the nation, taught by the long succession of the prophets, moved out of its earlier phases of faith, and rose slowly to the conception of the Divine Nature which the later prophets uttered with a sublimity of thought and phrase which are unsurpassed in the religious literature of mankind, the crudely materialistic elements of the tradition were set aside, and only the core of the history was emphasized. In the text we have the spiritual rendering of the national tradition about MOSES: "HE ENDURED AS SEEING

HIM WHO IS INVISIBLE." Not the splendour of the spiritual privilege, but the sustaining power of the spiritual vision is emphasized. And this is placed in the historic succession of the heroes of Faith, as properly part of the same significant Fact as that which had been proved and illustrated by them all. Of all the rest the same truth might have been affirmed, for "FAITH," the victorious grace which had sustained them, is precisely identical with the "VISION" of the "INVISIBLE," which in plenary measure and power MOSES had possessed. I take leave to follow the example of the sacred writer, and to carry the words to a still larger application. I venture to offer them to you, as truly relevant to your own situation when you set yourselves to face the trying and often well-nigh desperate contingencies of your difficult yet sublime vocation. For I must needs maintain that the "GOOD FIGHT OF THE FAITH," to which we are all called, must be fought out on the fields of secular duty: that none of us stands outside that high conflict: that the Christian differs from the rest of men only in his knowledge of the supreme nature of the warfare, and in his access to sources of strength and comfort, which, but for his "FAITH," were hidden from his ken.

3. In a sense, of course, the words might be given, legitimately given, a still wider range of application. Every perception of an Ideal is a "VISION" of the "INVISIBLE," and no human work rightly so described is incapable of being assisted by such perception. The student toils with the vision of perfected knowledge beckoning him forward in the quest of Truth. Take away that vision, extinguish that hope, destroy his faith in the trustworthiness of his own faculties of sense and thought, and you will cut the sinews of energy, and cause his work to sink into a dull routine to which poverty drives him, or the spur of an idle and irrational curiosity. The artist goes to his canvas with the vision of a diviner beauty than his brush will ever paint, and yet, though he fails to reach his ideal, what he paints will be incomparably more beautiful for its presence. The statesman owes the quality and final effect of his political efforts, not merely to his own skill, industry, courage, and fortune, but also, and in measure far larger than he knows or suspects, to the ideal which he perceives and strives to attain. This truth of the stimulating, uplifting power of Ideals holds through the whole range of human effort, just because that effort is human, and not mechanical or instinctive.

To realize this is to rise above the facile cynicism which mocks men's strivings and failures, and, in spite of the folly and the baseness, to respect them,

to sympathize, be proud
Of their half-reasons, faint aspirings, dim
Struggles for truth, their poorest fallacies,
Their prejudice and fears and cares and doubts ;
All with a touch of nobleness, despite
Their error, upward tending all though weak,
Like plants in mines which never saw the sun,
But dream of him, and guess where he may be,
And do their best to climb and get to him.

While this is true, as I have said, of all human effort, it cannot surely be doubtful that there are some forms and departments of effort in which the absence of an Ideal, to direct and sustain, is peculiarly disastrous as well for the worker as for his work. Here the aphorism of the keenest student of human nature among the historians of antiquity may be applied. *Corruptio optimi pessima*, which we may largely render thus. "The lowering of the highest employments of Mankind to the level of mechanical labour implies ruinous injury to the noblest faculties of human nature." Yes, indeed, this is true. The higher we are placed in the hierarchy of labour, the lower we must fall if we do fall ; and, when we have fallen, the graver will

be our wounding. Two professions illustrate this most conspicuously. The one is mine: the other is yours. Kindred professions surely, for both are essentially ministries of life, of healing, of consolation. Both therefore make immense demands on the higher Self of the Worker; bring a specially heavy strain on his sympathies; shape his character most potently. We can never forget that the historic Ministry of the "SON OF MAN" is most nearly reproduced on earth to-day in the work of the men and women who, under whatever description, devote themselves to the work of Healing. Clergy and laymen, doctors and nurses, social workers of every kind are in so far as they realize the significance of their mission in society, and rise to the height of their great calling, sharers in the Redemptive activity of JESUS CHRIST. They may, all of them, fall but too easily into the abyss of professionalism, see no more in their work than its lowest aspects as the means whereby they earn their living, and gain their social consequence: but they may, if they will, escape from so great a degradation, and know themselves to be the comrades of the REDEEMER.

4. As we consider the present state of the world, we see in conflict, not merely so many nations and

armies, but two great streams of tendency which have coursed through the centuries side by side in opposite direction though ever in contact, and sometimes so closely intermingled as to lose their separate character to the historian's gaze, and here at length have dashed against one another in manifest and immitigable conflict. On the one hand, there is the advancing movement towards the truly humane life, free, glorious in art and literature, strong and resourceful by waxing science, happy in the fraternal intercourse of peoples, flowering nobly in the manifold harvest of individual and national genius, rooted in social justice, rising sublimely in worship and service to its Divine Fountain. On the other hand, there is the backward-drawing tide of bestial retrogression, at every turn seizing with malignant skill the hardly gained powers of Mankind, and bending them with perverse ingenuity to the interest of what is base, selfish, and cruel in human nature, fouling Art and Literature, forcing Science to become the agent of man's undoing, poisoning human intercourse with destructive ambitions, finally thrusting itself into the holy places of Faith, and transforming Religion itself into a power of misery and malediction. In this welter of world-conflict, which we now see, there stand out

Factors which gather up, symbolize, and interpret the whole process of History. Here is Science, demoralized and desecrated, become the handmaid of cynical ambitions and the destroyer, by a thousand hellish devices, of human life ; and here is Science exalted and hallowed, fulfilling its high ministry of consolation and healing, the ally, the friend, and the chosen servant of the Religion of Humanity. The dualism of History is uttering itself on the battle-fields of the War : it has its key in the dualism of every man's personal experience. Humanity might confess itself in the agonized cry of the Apostle : "O WRETCHED MAN THAT I AM, WHO SHALL DELIVER ME OUT OF THE BODY OF THIS DEATH?"

5. What a singular and most suggestive paradox is presented by that humane and tireless activity which doctors and nurses are displaying on the scenes of slaughter, and in the purlieus of the battle-field ! Why should the organizers of death commission also the ministers of life ? Is not this illogical concession to indestructible instincts itself a confession of faith ? Is not the Red Cross more than the standard of Compassion ? Is it not also the symbol of a sure Hope ? In mitigation of War's senseless cruelty now, but presently destined to advance a bolder claim, to strike the weapons from

the soldiers' hands, to silence the cannon, to proclaim in the council-chambers of statesmen the Truce of GOD, and to waken in long-alienated hearts the slumbering fires of Fraternity, the RED CROSS of Sacrifice and Healing proclaims to a World in agony the Promise of Redemption. The vision of that destined Triumph gives meaning, justification, and power to your essays in humanity, and sustains you in the sorrows, disappointments, and hardships of your terrible and exhausting work. You, too, "ENDURE AS SEEING HIM WHO IS INVISIBLE." By sinking the Hospital Ships, and bombarding the Hospitals, perhaps even more than by grosser acts of savagery, Germany has proclaimed herself Apostate from the Faith of Christendom, and disclosed the sinister moral significance of her ruthless warfare.

6. When the record of the Great War is written, a place of special honour will be given to the Work of the Hospitals. Of the ministry of Healing it will be said in the words of ST. PAUL that "WHERE SIN ABOUNDED GRACE DID MUCH MORE ABOUND." The volume and variety of physical wretchedness caused by the War have drawn from the Masters of Medical Science new knowledge and new applications of old knowledge in a measure truly amazing.

The pageant of human suffering, displayed in the Hospitals, has called out resources of compassion, skill, patience, and sacrifice beyond all record and beyond all praise. The moral equilibrium of the World has been preserved, and the credit of civilization saved by the enthusiasm of the Healers and the triumph of their Healing Crusade. Against the myriad infamies of German warfare—the prostitution of Science to the undoing and torture of Mankind, the shameless repudiation of all the chivalrous principles and precedents of civilized war, the almost incredible cruelty and callousness of the submarine campaign, the hideous mishandling of the civil population, the abominable treatment of women and children, all the mingled barbarism, hypocrisy, and vileness of Prussian oppression—against the whole volume of violent and cynical wickedness we can set, not only the crusading passion and glorious valour of our soldiers and sailors, the dogged courage of our merchant seamen, and the steady devotion of countless workers in the factories and on the fields of England, but also and most conspicuously the achievements of Medical and Surgical Science, and the vindication of Humanity by the service and sacrifice of that vast multitude of Doctors, Surgeons, Nurses, Stretcher-bearers, at the Front and at the

Base, in urgent perils and in the security of English Hospitals, who have fought disease, despised terrors and risks unnumbered, and enriched the World in its darkest hour with an imperishable heritage of Moral Greatness.

7. It is probably the case that those who are actually engaged in this blessed Crusade of Healing and Mercy do not at all times realize the sublimity of the rôle they are appointed to play in the grand drama of life. Surely CHRIST did not without good reason represent the Righteous in the Great Assize as surprised by the Judge's verdict on their conduct. Many of the greater Saints have passed unknowing, and unknown. The duties which immediately claim you are arduous, set in a monotonous routine, disguised by a thousand desecrating conventions, and you may be in some risk of belittling your own vocation. One object, surely not the least object, of such a service as this is to counteract that danger by disclosing the religious significance of your work, making you see it (as we say in the Schools) *sub specie aeternitatis*, as GOD sees it, Who knows the End as well as the Beginning, reads achievement in the light of motive, and measures effort in the scales of an undeviating Equity.

GOD judges by a light,
Which baffles mortal sight,
And the useless-seeming man the crown hath won :
In His vast world above,
A world of broader love,
GOD hath some grand employment for HIS son.

Here, in the Sanctuary, you may find the Secret of
"SEEING HIM WHO IS INVISIBLE."

XVII

NEIGHBOURLINESS¹

BUT HE, DESIRING TO JUSTIFY HIMSELF, SAID UNTO JESUS, AND WHO IS MY NEIGHBOUR?—*St. Luke x. 29.*

I. THE "LAWYER" who "STOOD UP AND TEMPTED" JESUS seems to have been a candid and open-minded man, and it may well have been the case that he put his question to our LORD in no unfair or unreasonable spirit. No man who claims publicly to stand before his contemporaries as a religious teacher can properly resent the question which the "LAWYER" proposed: and that question is not only fair but unavoidable if a religious teacher be taking a course which is unprecedented, and even runs counter to the established system of religious teaching and practice. Now JESUS had just been advancing for Himself and for His Teaching claims

¹ Preached in Durham Cathedral on the twenty-third Sunday after Trinity, November 11, 1917, being Mayor's Sunday, at Evensong.

which were novel, and must have appeared extreme. HE had used mysterious and extraordinary language in public, and "TO THE DISCIPLES PRIVATELY" HE had even emphasized HIS statements. We may be sure that those simple and ardent Believers conveyed the impression far and wide that JESUS stood on a level of authority far above the "SCRIBES AND PHARISEES," and uttered a Teaching far more inspired and satisfying than theirs. Accordingly, the "LAWYER" was giving expression to a widely felt sentiment when he directly challenged JESUS on the point which lies at the core of all religious teaching, and which must be fairly faced by every religious teacher worthy the name. "BEHOLD, A CERTAIN LAWYER STOOD UP AND TEMPTED HIM (that is, PUT HIM TO THE TEST) SAYING, MASTER, WHAT SHALL I DO TO INHERIT ETERNAL LIFE?" The question of religion is, he suggests, not merely theoretical, a subject for students and professors. We are busy citizens of the world, and have no time for theoretical discussion, but we desire to live rightly: we know that our time on earth is but short; and that yet it is all we have for this great purpose of determining our future. Religion, if it is to be serviceable to us, must be stated in clear terms of conduct. "MASTER, WHAT SHALL I DO

TO INHERIT ETERNAL LIFE?" Now, you will have noticed that our LORD disclaims the originality with which the "LAWYER" would invest HIM, and tells HIS questioner that the answer to his question is already in his possession. "HE SAID UNTO HIM, WHAT IS WRITTEN IN THE LAW? HOW READEST THOU?" HE sends the "LAWYER" to his own familiar subject, the Law, and makes him find there the information he asks for. "HE ANSWERING SAID, THOU SHALT LOVE THE LORD THY GOD WITH ALL THY HEART, AND WITH ALL THY SOUL, AND WITH ALL THY STRENGTH, AND WITH ALL THY MIND: AND THY NEIGHBOUR AS THYSELF." The "LAWYER" replies in a brief summary of human duty which was well known to every Jew. Probably the phylactery bound on his forehead after the current fashion contained most if not all of the words. Perhaps JESUS emphasized HIS answer by pointing to this religious symbol as HE spoke. "HE SAID UNTO HIM, THOU HAST ANSWERED RIGHT: THIS DO AND THOU SHALT LIVE."

The "LAWYER" cannot dispute the soundness of the answer, but he is not willing to admit that his practical difficulty is removed by it. "HE, DESIRING TO JUSTIFY HIMSELF, SAID UNTO JESUS, AND WHO IS MY NEIGHBOUR?" To that question the

LORD made answer in the Parable of the Good Samaritan which we have read as our special Lesson this afternoon. He makes the "LAWYER" draw the moral for himself. "WHICH OF THESE THREE, THINKEST THOU, PROVED NEIGHBOUR UNTO HIM THAT FELL AMONG THE ROBBERS? AND HE SAID, HE THAT SHEWED MERCY ON HIM. AND JESUS SAID UNTO HIM, GO, AND DO THOU LIKEWISE."

2. "WHO IS MY NEIGHBOUR?"—the "LAWYER'S" question will serve very well for the text of my sermon on this occasion when once more it falls to my lot to welcome the MAYOR and CORPORATION to the Cathedral at the beginning of a new year of municipal responsibility.

The difficulties which would have presented themselves to the Jewish "LAWYER" were, indeed, widely different from those which would occur to us. As Christians we have been led out of the legalism which clouded the understandings of religious Jews in the time of CHRIST. Modern England is not quite as ancient Palestine. No such embittered relation as that which the Jew held to the Samaritan has any existence among us here in England. Our citizens are no longer sharply parted from one another by doctrines of spiritual privilege, or by the still more formidable barrier of rooted social

severance. Political feeling rarely now runs so high among us as to part neighbours sharply from one another, and even the more inveterate prejudices of class are rapidly going down before the equalizing influences of the modern world. Yet it is the case that many forces are hostile to the temper of neighbourliness in our modern world, and this is the more regrettable since the situation in which we stand calls more imperatively than ever for that very disposition. A comparatively small city like our own might seem to be peculiarly well adapted for the growth and exercise of neighbourliness, and certainly the absence of that temper among the citizens cannot fail to be immediately and widely mischievous. Municipal Government can only be sound, dignified, and fruitful if it proceeds in the responsible and sympathetic atmosphere of neighbourliness.

3. If we examine carefully the doctrine set forth in the Parable of the Good Samaritan, we shall notice that it makes an end of what might perhaps be called the ordinary limitations of neighbourly responsibility. That unfortunate traveller who fell among the robbers was helped by one who was alien in race, in locality, in religious profession, probably also in occupation. The wounded man lying by the wayside had, as we might say, no claim on him

except one, that he was in desperate distress. Why, therefore, should not the Samaritan follow the example of the Priest and the Levite, who might have seemed bound by their religious character to assist a fellow-believer, and like them "PASS BY ON THE OTHER SIDE"? Our SAVIOUR is content to let the man's action speak for itself. He had the power to assist the stranger, and that circumstance determined him. In the combination of power and opportunity emerged for him clearly the duty of neighbourliness. "WHO IS MY NEIGHBOUR?" asked the "LAWYER," trained to the precise definition of claims, and accustomed to conceive of duty in terms of precise and limited obligation: and CHRIST replied in the Parable that neighbourly relation is implicit between man and man, and leaps into view when one man finds himself confronted by another's need, and knows himself able to relieve it.

4. While this wide doctrine of neighbourliness is truly Christian, we must not fall into the error of thinking that CHRIST preached a vague cosmopolitanism, and disdained the lesser fellowships of mankind, the family, the city, the nation, the Church. So far is this from the case that CHRIST'S Religion, instead of weakening these natural units, has strengthened and exalted them, so that it may pass

as a settled and indisputable fact, that only within the sphere of Christian influence do they attain to full maturity. Nowhere does the Family become so richly charged with moral potency as when it is ordered by the Law of CHRIST. Nationality has never been so strong and ennobling a factor in the world's life as when it has grown on the soil of Christendom. The City has taken a new greatness since its citizenship was purged from the taint of an arrogant privilege, and its ideals have been given from above. Take the noblest city of antiquity, ATHENS, and consider how all the splendour of its artistic adornment, designed by the lofty ambition of PERICLES and accomplished by the labour of those gifted artists, of whom PHEIDIAS was the incomparable chief, and even the greater marvel of its intellectual life, which yet, through the works of PLATO and ARISTOTLE, leads the thought of civilized men ; consider, I say, how all the glory and greatness of Athens were subtly conditioned by two degrading circumstances of Athenian life, its slave-basis and its demoralizing religion. A liberty which was strong, self-respecting, and durable could not be built on the foundation of slavery, or flourish on the creed of a decadent polytheism. ATHENS may stand for all the cities of the ancient world, for none other has

left so lasting and so honourable an impression on the record of mankind, save ROME, in which the City was merged in the imperial State.

From the fruits of historic Christianity we might have inferred with confidence that a colourless cosmopolitanism, which belittled or ignored altogether the natural fellowships of mankind, was not its distinctive teaching. But we are not left to inference. In the character of JESUS, as it is presented in the sacred biographies, and in HIS Example as it is there recorded, we find that HE made the most of every genuine quality of that human nature which HE came to save and exalt. Only, while HE did this, chartering every lesser communion of common human life—the Home, the City, the Nation—to serve the interest of the larger Unity by realizing its own ideal, HE was always “THE SON OF MAN,” accepting for HIS sphere of redemptive action no smaller Empire than the world itself, and requiring HIS disciples to rise above the local, and temporal, limitations of their life, in order to perpetuate on earth HIS universal ministry, and to bring “all sorts and conditions of men” into HIS Kingdom of liberty and love.

5. MR. MAYOR and Gentlemen of the Corporation, I have thought it fitting to dwell on the

Christian doctrine of neighbourliness because your official duties can only be well performed if you yourselves hold fast that doctrine, and if we, over whom you will exercise the important functions of civil government, share that doctrine, and are ourselves resolutely determined to support you in applying it to the life of the City. It must be the case that in a Christian City (and such I shall maintain that DURHAM, in spite of all its faults, must be called) municipal duty ought to be generously interpreted. We must not only see our local administration in its first and narrowest reference, but also in its larger and less obvious bearings. I am tempted to paraphrase and apply to local authorities the famous sentence in which HOOKER repudiated the unworthy view of Parliament as if there were something improper or excessive in a national legislature concerning itself with religion: "THE PARLIAMENT IS A COURT NOT SO MERELY TEMPORAL AS IF IT MIGHT MEDDLE WITH NOTHING BUT ONLY LEATHER AND WOOL."¹ So I would say, A municipality is not a body so selfishly local as if it might consider nothing but only keeping down the rates. A careful and honest control of expenditure is, indeed, a primary and

¹ Vide *E.P.* VIII. vi. II.

most important obligation of local bodies, but they must (on Christian principles) look beyond the financial aspect of government to the civic and the moral, which, in the proper sense of the words, mean also the Christian. In private affairs we know well how true the old saying is, "Penny wise and pound foolish." I am sure the proverb is as true and as relevant in the case of public expenditure.

6. Let us take as an illustration of our argument that urgent and most difficult question which is exercising the minds of our best citizens so deeply, and which does in my judgment stand in the very forefront of all those social reforms which we sum up in the now-familiar word Reconstruction; I mean, of course, the question of Housing. Let us look at it frankly as it now confronts us in this City. We can hardly, I think, in view of the evidence, deny that the existing state of affairs is deeply unsatisfactory. There are many persons living in Durham under conditions which cannot be defended, and ought not to be tolerated one day longer than is absolutely necessary. Many, probably most, of these persons belong to that section of unskilled labourers which "never continues in one stay," but is ever shifting from one place to another on the tides of economic movement, and never forms anywhere

those genuine local attachments which are the indispensable raw material of citizenship. They are "in" Durham, but they are not "of" Durham. When, moreover, we inquire for what reason these nomads drift into our city, we are told that many of them are employed temporarily at the adjacent mines, where they are doing work of high national value, which must fairly be held to entitle them to public respect and consideration. Now it is certainly arguable that, if permanent and adequate housing is to be provided for these people (who must live somewhere, and who ought not to be forced to live in tenements which must needs degrade them), the responsibility belongs rather to the mine-owners, who employ them, than to the City of Durham; and that any equitable solution of the problem of housing must give fair application to the principle that the suitable housing of the men employed should be a first charge on the mining industry. Confessedly, then, the question of Housing, as it confronts us in Durham, is neither simple in itself nor easy to answer wisely. Still, when all has been said, can we doubt that a clear call upon ourselves is there? I submit that we must approach the question in the spirit of neighbourliness, recognizing that these temporary visitors to our City do come

within the range of our duty ; that even if their claim on us as fellow-citizens be slight, their claim as "NEIGHBOURS" in CHRIST'S sense is very strong : that we ought to be willing, even at some sacrifice to ourselves, to co-operate with the central authority of the State in finding an answer which shall remove at last what is the darkest shadow on the public credit of our ancient and beautiful City. You will not misunderstand me, MR. MAYOR and Gentlemen, nor resent my words. Assuredly I do not underrate your difficulties, or doubt your personal devotion to civic duty. But here, in the LORD'S House, we must think and speak with an absolute sincerity, for here better surely than elsewhere, "IN THE STRIFE OF TONGUES AND THE TUMULT OF THE CITY," we can realize that, in our civic action, as in every other department of our conduct, we are in the Presence of HIM, our Maker and Judge, before Whose bar severe our account must finally be made.

7. It has been a great pleasure to me to watch the evident devotion to duty which marked the late Mayor. I cannot think that I was mistaken in thinking that the solemn appearances of the Mayor and Corporation in this Cathedral have meant much more to him and his colleagues than a mere follow-

ing of custom however excellent. And now, it is with very special satisfaction that I welcome again the Mayor and Corporation of Durham to this great Church, and in yourself, Mr. Mayor, one who has personal associations with its corporate worship, who is often present at its regular services, and whose loyalty to its welfare is well proved. Long may it be the case that the relations between the Cathedral and the City of Durham shall remain as sound and self-respecting as they seem now to be!

Mr. Mayor and Gentlemen of the Corporation, you have a right to the unwavering support of your fellow-townsmen when you put hand to those parts of your municipal duty which are most difficult and least popular. In preaching to you I am certainly also preaching to myself and to the rest of the citizens of Durham.

8. One word before I close on the subject of the collection which will immediately be made. The DURHAM COUNTY HOSPITAL is one of the City's most precious possessions: and its preciousness has been more than ever proved during these dark years of War. From the papers which have been placed in your seats you will observe the sad and startling statement, that the Subscriptions have fallen by more than £200 since the War began.

No doubt the number of special appeals may explain this : but it remains an unpleasing fact. I will take leave to urge those of you who can to become annual subscribers to the DURHAM COUNTY HOSPITAL. You could not give your money to a more deserving and valuable institution.

XVIII

NATIONAL INTERCESSION¹

AND HEZEKIAH RECEIVED THE LETTER FROM THE HAND OF THE MESSENGERS, AND READ IT: AND HEZEKIAH WENT UP UNTO THE HOUSE OF THE LORD, AND SPREAD IT BEFORE THE LORD.—*Isaiah* xxxvii. 14.

I. THE sacred historian unfolds a situation of dramatic interest. We see a nation at the crisis of its fate, menaced by imminent and seemingly inevitable destruction. Before the rapid advance of the army of Assyria the frontier fortresses have fallen, and the opposing forces melted away. Nothing now intervenes between the conqueror and Jerusalem but a few miles of undefended country. In Jerusalem the patriot king, HEZEKIAH, is reduced to grievous extremity, and seems for the moment daunted by the swiftness and severity of the disaster which has overtaken him. Messengers arrive from

¹ Preached in Durham Cathedral on Sunday, January 2, 1916, on the occasion of the National Intercession in connexion with the Great War.

RABSHAKEH, the Assyrian General, bringing a message of brutal insult, filled with vaunts and threats. How can the petty Jewish state hope to escape the calamity which has befallen its neighbours? Its wisest course surely was to accept its fate, and propitiate the wrath of the Conqueror by a timely surrender. Religion and politics were then so closely associated in men's thought that every political disaster had a religious significance. RABSHAKEH'S message took naturally the form of a challenge to Israel's Faith in JEHOVAH. Israel's ruin would imply to his thinking the humiliation of Israel's GOD, Whose temple was on Mount Zion. Thus Patriotism and Faith were both outraged by the Assyrian's message. But HEZEKIAH finds in his faith the support of his patriotism, and recovers in the Temple the courage which he had lost on the Field. "AND HEZEKIAH RECEIVED THE LETTER FROM THE HAND OF THE MESSENGERS, AND READ IT: AND HEZEKIAH WENT UP UNTO THE HOUSE OF THE LORD, AND SPREAD IT BEFORE THE LORD." To the distressed Monarch, throwing himself on the supernatural strength of the ALMIGHTY for deliverance from his desperate peril, there comes from the Prophet ISAIAH a message of encouragement and assurance: "THUS SAITH THE LORD

CONCERNING THE KING OF ASSYRIA, HE SHALL NOT COME UNTO THIS CITY, NOR SHOOT AN ARROW THERE, NEITHER SHALL HE COME BEFORE IT WITH SHIELD, NOR CAST A MOUNT AGAINST IT. BY THE WAY THAT HE CAME, BY THE SAME SHALL HE RETURN, AND HE SHALL NOT COME UNTO THIS CITY, SAITH THE LORD. FOR I WILL DEFEND THIS CITY TO SAVE IT, FOR MINE OWN SAKE, AND FOR MY SERVANT DAVID'S SAKE." The historian proceeds to tell the story of a dramatic deliverance, which he ascribes to a direct interference of Divine Power, but which the secular writers ascribe to one of those sudden disasters which overthrow the plans of the mightiest conquerors, and transform the fortunes of the proudest monarchs. Interpret the facts as you will, there is no uncertainty about the facts themselves. The victorious advance of the Assyrians was arrested, and Jerusalem was saved from the capture which had seemed inevitable. SENNACHERIB returned discomfited to his own land, there to fall a victim to a treasonable conspiracy. HEZEKIAH passed into history as one of the most glorious of the Kings of JUDAH.

2. The unique and continuing value of Hebrew History, as we have it in the Old Testament, arises from the point of view which the sacred writers

adopted. Their information was often defective, and sometimes national or religious prejudice coloured their narratives, and distorted their judgments, but they never failed to look through events, and beyond them, to an invisible Power, which finally determined the courses of the World. They saw in History more than the sway of physical forces, the movements of tendency, or the blind empire of chance. To them History was always a conflict of moral beings resisting or serving the righteous and finally prevailing Purpose of the Everlasting GOD. Empires rose and fell, but not at random, or without intelligible reason. The Procession of human life on the stage of Time was not a mere chaos, without plan or destination, but an ordered and co-ordinated thing, part of a Drama of Divine Providence which stretched through Time and beyond it. They saw the march of events from the standpoint of Eternity. In History they traced the footprints of GOD. Out of the "changes and chances" of human fortune they saw rising Something which was superior to circumstance, and independent of death. This Vision saved them from sinking into pessimism under the strain of their sympathy with human fate. "THE VOICE OF ONE SAYING, CRY. AND ONE SAID, WHAT SHALL I CRY? ALL FLESH IS GRASS,

AND ALL THE GOODLINESS THEREOF IS AS THE FLOWER OF THE FIELD : THE GRASS WITHERETH, THE FLOWER FADETH ; BECAUSE THE BREATH OF THE LORD BLOWETH UPON IT : SURELY THE PEOPLE IS GRASS. THE GRASS WITHERETH, THE FLOWER FADETH : BUT THE WORD OF OUR GOD SHALL STAND FOR EVER."

3. It needs not that a man should be a Christian in order that he should perceive and acknowledge the important part played by moral forces in human affairs. Even in War, when the appeal is confessedly to physical strength, the *moral* of an Army is a primary factor in its fighting value. Even in modern War, in which (as we have learned by bitter experience) the machine has attained an unparalleled importance, it is still the case that the human factor finally prevails. Most truly did a patriotic poet of the last century write :

Vain, mightiest fleets, of iron framed ;
Vain, those all-shattering guns ;
Unless proud England keep, untamed,
The strong heart of her sons.

Indeed, I am disposed to think that the conditions, under which War must now be waged, have increased rather than diminished the importance of the moral factor. When victory must be won in the work-

shops, where the engines of warfare are manufactured, before it can be won in the field or in the trench, it is evident that all turns on the habits and dispositions, not of armies merely, but of the population at home. When the cost of War has grown to such extravagant proportions that only the largest sacrifices on the part of the citizens can enable the State to maintain a prolonged conflict, it is evident that critical importance attaches to the measure of the private sacrifice which the citizens will make. We may add that when the novel and gigantic requirements of the struggle compel in such a society as our own (a society organized for peace and habituated to it) drastic changes of system and great surrenders of tradition, it needs no argument to show that the successful achievement of the indispensable changes must depend on the patriotic spirit of the citizens, on their sense of proportion, on their willingness to subordinate personal preferences to the public good, on their capacity to rise above prejudice and faction, and to look singly and solely to the welfare of the country.

4. But when we speak of the "moral factor," and of the *moral* of an Army, or a Nation, it is important for us to realize the significance of what we say. What is the "moral factor" in human

affairs, but the sense of duty regnant in human minds? What is the *moral* of an Army, or a Nation, but that interior conviction, or sense of obligation, which gives final authority to the demands made on them by their country? And whence come these unseen powers of mind and spirit but from HIM, Who is the ultimate Father of us all? Lower theories of Morality cannot justify our homage or sustain the burden of our experience. MR. BALFOUR has well stated this point in his recent volume :

If the most we can say for morality on the causal side is that it is the product of non-moral, and ultimately of material agents, guided up to a certain point by selection, and thereafter left the sport of chance, a sense of humour, if nothing else, should prevent us wasting fine language on the splendour of the moral law and the reverential obedience owed to it by mankind. That debt will not long be paid if morality comes to be generally regarded as the causal effect of petty causes ; comparable in its lower manifestations with the appetites and terrors which rule, for their good, the animal creation ; in its highest phases no more than a personal accomplishment, to be acquired or neglected at the bidding of individual caprice. More than this is needful if the noblest ideals are not to lose all power of appeal. *Ethics must have its roots in the divine ; and in the divine it must find its consummation.*¹

¹ Vide *Gifford Lectures*, p. 128.

5. Because this is indeed the truth, because man's duty is verily, as WORDSWORTH said, the

Stern Daughter of the Voice of GOD,

we must needs turn to GOD, the aboriginal Author of the Moral Law, when we would seek to strengthen our resolution, and brace ourselves for the greater Tasks of human Duty. This, I apprehend, is the reason of those solemn services of Intercession, which from time to time on an imposing scale, and continuously throughout the country, have been proceeding in the Churches since the stroke of War fell on us. Confronted by a Task so arduous that only the concentration of all the national energies can achieve it, summoned to sacrifices so great that nothing short of the loftiest sense of duty can make them, we, alike as a Nation and as individual Citizens, desire to place ourselves and our dear Country humbly and frankly in the Hands of that Righteous and Beneficent CREATOR, Whose children we are, and Whose Will is our only rightful Law. In the wonderfully changed circumstances of the modern world we find ourselves so placed as was the patriot King of JUDAH in his dark hour, and we too would "CAST ALL OUR ANXIETY UPON" GOD, knowing well that "HE

CARETH FOR US." We would make HEZEKIAH'S record our own to-day: "AND HEZEKIAH RECEIVED THE LETTER FROM THE HAND OF THE MESSENGERS, AND READ IT: AND HEZEKIAH WENT UP UNTO THE HOUSE OF THE LORD, AND SPREAD IT BEFORE THE LORD."

6. Many unmistakable tokens indicate that we have come to the crisis of the conflict, the final result of which will, so far as human judgment can discern, be determined by the events of the next few months. In these circumstances an extraordinary solemnity must needs attach to the worship of patriotic Englishmen. The daily reports from the fighting Fronts, East and West and South, bringing long and ever longer lists of the wounded and the slain (in which every name carries some piteous record of private desolation, rings down the curtain on some personal tragedy), force upon the mind with more than common directness the pathetic frailty of human life, human plans, human hopes. In these days it is literally true that

Never morning wears to evening
But some heart doth break.

We realize, even the most frivolous and self-absorbed among us must needs recognize, the truth of the

aged DAVID'S confession: "WE ARE STRANGERS BEFORE THEE, AND SOJOURNERS, AS ALL OUR FATHERS WERE: OUR DAYS ON THE EARTH ARE AS A SHADOW, AND THERE IS NO ABIDING." A vivid consciousness of our natural weakness, and a clear perception of the transitoriness of all earthly things, are the natural fruits of such experiences as those which we have been called to traverse. For they have received a solemn emphasis from the state of the world. We look back upon three years of War—War on three continents and in three elements, War the most sanguinary and the most destructive which the woeful annals of mankind have yet recorded—and we look forward still to War, not less vast, bloody, and ruinous. It might seem that the sombre language of the Evangelist were a description of the world as we behold it to-day: "UPON THE EARTH DISTRESS OF NATIONS, IN PERPLEXITY FOR THE ROARING OF THE SEA AND THE BILLOWS, MEN FAINTING FOR FEAR, AND FOR EXPECTATION OF THE THINGS WHICH ARE COMING ON THE WORLD." The whole extent of the calamity weighs upon us. We remember the losses. Many thousands of men of British birth, for the most part in the power of their manhood, and in the pride of its promise, all perished in trench,

and field, and hospital, or beneath the inexorable sea — it is an afflicting, and all but intolerable thought. But there is more. Our country, every country in Europe, is being filled with maimed and wounded soldiers, with disconsolate widows and fatherless children, victims of the Great War, whose misery is the unregarded by-product of human ambition. It is a heart-piercing spectacle, infinitely suggestive. The sheer volume of wretchedness dazes and paralyses us. We think of BELGIUM, the earliest victim of German barbarism, and of SERBIA, the latest: of POLAND, RUSSIA, and ALBANIA filled with starving peasants, men, women, and children, cast out homeless, foodless, fireless in the winter's cold; of the ARMENIANS, a whole people destroyed deliberately with every circumstance of barbarous cruelty and ignominious insult. The mind reels, the imagination faints before tragedy so vast and so profound. "THEN I RETURNED AND SAW ALL THE OPPRESSIONS THAT ARE DONE UNDER THE SUN: AND BEHOLD, THE TEARS OF SUCH AS WERE OPPRESSED, AND THEY HAD NO COMFORTER: AND ON THE SIDE OF THEIR OPPRESSORS THERE WAS POWER, BUT THEY HAD NO COMFORTER." Yes, our retrospect is as a record of unutterable woe, a letter of

unmeasured cruelty. "AND HEZEKIAH RECEIVED THE LETTER FROM THE HAND OF THE MESS-ENGERS AND READ IT: AND HEZEKIAH WENT UP UNTO THE HOUSE OF THE LORD, AND SPREAD IT BEFORE THE LORD."

7. Here, in the "HOUSE OF THE LORD," we may read our Letter, and understand its meaning. Here we may find the Key of human experience, which outside had seemed so futile and cruel. Here we can see the Great War in true perspective, and rise above its horror to the spiritual witness it bears. Here the retrospect is no longer wholly sad, nor the future wholly threatening. There is light in the darkness. We remember our dead Soldiers, not merely or mainly with sorrow, but also and increasingly with a solemn joy. For they heard the Call of God in the way of duty, and they answered. They gave themselves without reserve, "YEA, THEMSELVES, THEIR SOULS AND BODIES," as free-will sacrifices on the Altar of GOD, and they are HIS for evermore. Do we ask why the price of human liberty must be so great? Perhaps even here the answer is not fully given, and we are left under the shadow of an unsolved problem. Yet, at least, we can see the fearful Question here in the calm light of Eternity: we can bind the torturing enigma into

the pageant of moral conflict which is the glory of human life from the first: and we can see all who now are suffering for the Right as standing in the great succession of those who "THROUGH MUCH TRIBULATION" have "ENTERED INTO THE KINGDOM." The physical tragedy of the War takes its place with the kindred disasters of earthquake, pestilence, flood, the fearful catastrophes which shiver planets, or mark the bounds of geologic ages. On that problem the Gospel casts no light: but the moral aspect of the War seems to me infinitely consoling. It is one more glorious chapter in the conflict of the Spirit against the Flesh, and it is adding to the Succession of Spiritual Heroes countless numbers of valorous combatants, who, confronted by the eternal choice, have "CHOSEN RATHER TO BE EVIL ENTREATED WITH THE PEOPLE OF GOD, THAN TO ENJOY THE PLEASURES OF SIN FOR A SEASON." Here we see them as a "GREAT CLOUD OF WITNESSES," and beyond them, their Captain and King, we see HIM, Who sums up in Himself all that their conflict has meant, and Whose victory secures and crowns theirs, "JESUS, THE AUTHOR AND PERFECTER OF OUR FAITH; WHO FOR THE JOY THAT WAS SET BEFORE HIM ENDURED THE CROSS, DESPISING SHAME, AND

HATH SAT DOWN AT THE RIGHT HAND OF THE THRONE OF GOD."

We pray that this Vision may not fade from our minds in the coming months, when we must make still sterner sacrifices, and sustain still crueller sorrows. We pray that It may visit the minds of our Soldiers, to show them the nobility of their service, and go with them as a Presence of Power and Purity through all the perils of warfare, keeping them true to their Allegiance not only to the King, whose honourable uniform they wear, but to that Divine KING, Whose Name they have received. This is the sum and substance of all our Prayers, for them and for ourselves, here and now in this fateful time: "SHEW THOU ME THE WAY THAT I SHOULD WALK IN, FOR I LIFT UP MY SOUL UNTO THEE."

XIX

THE PAST AS A GUIDE TO THE PRESENT¹

BUT WE ARE NOT OF THEM THAT SHRINK BACK UNTO PERDITION ;
BUT OF THEM THAT HAVE FAITH UNTO THE SAVING OF THE SOUL.—
Hebrews x. 39.

I. THE sacred writer sets before us two types of men, and indicates two conceptions of religion. If we render his words more exactly we get, perhaps, a clearer notion of his meaning. The margin of the Revised Version will serve. The text will run thus : "WE ARE NOT OF SHRINKING BACK, BUT OF FAITH." Our gaze is directed not backwards to a past which is ever remoter, but forwards to a future which is ever nearer. The principle of our Religion is not retrogression to that which once was and is no more, but progress to that which never yet has been and yet shall be. We are not a garrison set

¹ Preached in Durham Cathedral on January 27, 1917, at the Commemoration of Founders and Benefactors.

to guard a beleaguered city, but the Army of the LORD, following HIM to the Holy War.

The two contrasted words "shrinking back" (*ὑποστολή*) and faith (*πίστις*) deserve our careful notice. The first has an interest of its own, as being here only used in the New Testament. It is not found in the Septuagint, or in any other Greek version of the older Scriptures, and it is (we are assured) unused by the classical Greek writers. The verb from which it is formed is, however, found in an interesting passage, which throws light on the text. In the Epistle to the Galatians ST. PAUL is led to give some passages of his life, and among others that memorable episode when he came into open collision with the chief of the Apostles at Antioch. The question at issue was the recognition of Gentile believers, whom the stricter Jews refused to acknowledge as in the full sense members of the Christian Church. ST. PETER, to whom had been vouchsafed a Divine revelation which left him in no doubt on the question, had first acted with liberality, and then (when orthodox opposition was threatened) had changed his attitude. The more resolute spirit of ST. PAUL could not tolerate such vacillation. "BUT WHEN CEPHAS CAME TO ANTIOCH, I RESISTED HIM TO THE FACE, BECAUSE HE STOOD

CONDEMNED. FOR BEFORE THAT CERTAIN CAME FROM JAMES, HE DID EAT WITH THE GENTILES : BUT WHEN THEY CAME, HE DREW BACK AND SEPARATED HIMSELF, FEARING THEM THAT WERE OF THE CIRCUMCISION. ὑπέστανεν, "HE DREW BACK," playing false through fear to his own convictions. Bishop LIGHTFOOT'S comment is useful :

ST. PETER'S vision had taught him the worthlessness of these narrow traditions. He had no scruples about living ἐθνικῶς. And when in this instance he separated himself from the Gentiles, he practically dissembled his convictions.

That then is what the Greek word suggests—the timidity of one stealthily retreating. Possibly the notion was suggested by the cautious procedure of a general retiring before superior forces, trying to elude observation in his retreat. We Christians are not, says the author of the text, timid reactionaries, but men of courageous faith. "WE ARE NOT OF THEM THAT SHRINK BACK UNTO PERDITION ; BUT OF THEM THAT HAVE FAITH UNTO THE SAVING OF THE SOUL." "In laconic phrase he offers as the watchword for times of trial, 'Not men of shrinking, but men of faith.'"

2. Now it is not a little remarkable that the Apostle, in order to assist his brethren to gain the

courage and patience which belong to their profession as Christians, deliberately directs their thoughts to the past, to that past which they are to leave behind, and from which they are to take only the precedents of "FAITH." "CALL TO REMEMBRANCE THE FORMER DAYS," is his counsel, bidding them read the message of their own experience, and renew in the changed circumstances of the present that willingness to venture and to suffer which marked the beginning of their discipleship. From the relatively narrow sphere of individual experience he passes on to a larger appeal, and bids them perceive the same truth proclaimed throughout history in the records of Faithful Men, an infinitely various company, living in circumstances the most diverse, yet all bearing a common stamp, and visibly moving under a single impulse. "THESE ALL DIED IN FAITH, NOT HAVING RECEIVED THE PROMISES, BUT HAVING SEEN THEM AND GREETED THEM FROM AFAR, AND HAVING CONFESSED THAT THEY WERE STRANGERS AND PILGRIMS ON THE EARTH. FOR THEY THAT SAY SUCH THINGS MAKE IT MANIFEST THAT THEY ARE SEEKING AFTER A COUNTRY OF THEIR OWN. AND IF INDEED THEY HAD BEEN MINDFUL OF THAT COUNTRY FROM WHICH THEY WENT OUT, THEY WOULD HAVE HAD

OPPORTUNITY TO RETURN. BUT NOW THEY DESIRE A BETTER COUNTRY, THAT IS, A HEAVENLY: WHEREFORE GOD IS NOT ASHAMED OF THEM, TO BE CALLED THEIR GOD: FOR HE HATH PREPARED FOR THEM A CITY."

3. If I ask you to apply the words of the text directly to our own situation, as we come together for this annual commemoration, it is certainly not the case that I forget or underrate the difference—deep, pervading, incalculable—which separates the Christian thinking of the first century from that of the twentieth. In spite of that difference, I am persuaded that there is agreement enough between the two epochs of revolutionary transition to make my procedure reasonable, and that the circumstances of such critical eras are sufficiently similar to make the earlier trustworthy monitors for the later. I believe that if the inspired writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews had to address himself to the Church of England at the present time, his appeal would still be essentially expressed in the same way. He would still bid us "CALL TO REMEMBRANCE THE FORMER DAYS," still entreat us not to "CAST AWAY OUR BOLDNESS, WHICH HATH GREAT RECOMPENSE OF REWARD," still warn us that we "HAVE NEED OF PATIENCE," still call us to act as men who "ARE

NOT OF THEM THAT DRAW BACK UNTO PERDITION ; BUT OF THEM THAT HAVE FAITH UNTO THE SAVING OF THE SOUL." He would have entered with complete sympathy into our service of Commemoration.

4. To-day we recall a long past. Our thoughts are carried up the stream of Time to the very beginnings of the national history, when first (such was GOD'S infinite goodness to the English Race) the consecrating Hand of CHRIST touched for good the rough life of our pagan forefathers. A Beacon was kindled on these northern coasts which cast far and wide the Light of Truth, and drew to itself the self-surrendering homage of saints and heroes. From ST. CUTHBERT to this hour when, before his grave, we rehearse his name at the head of a long succession of Founders and Benefactors, more than twelve changeful centuries have run their course. Even the brief record of that noble succession, as we have made it in our Form of Commemoration, must needs stir the imagination and move the heart of every thoughtful and cultivated Englishman. Here, perhaps beyond any other place, the great Tradition is expressed in an exquisite harmony of historic fabric and natural loveliness. The Mount of DURHAM, crowned with its sacred

buildings, girt below by the winding river, and guarded far round about by the hills, appeals to the heart and kindles the fancy as perhaps none other can. Long ago men called it "the English Sion," and felt towards it something of the religious affection with which devout Israelites had regarded the Temple of Jerusalem. It was the home of their hearts, and the standing symbol of their Faith. "THE HILLS STAND ABOUT JERUSALEM: EVEN SO STANDETH THE LORD ROUND ABOUT HIS PEOPLE, FROM THIS TIME FORTH FOR EVERMORE." "IF I FORGET THEE, O JERUSALEM, LET MY RIGHT HAND FORGET HER CUNNING. IF I DO NOT REMEMBER THEE, LET MY TONGUE CLEAVE TO THE ROOF OF MY MOUTH; YEA, IF I PREFER NOT JERUSALEM IN MY MIRTH." Compare with the Psalmist's passionate love for Jerusalem the words in which a young British Officer, once a King's Scholar in our famous school, now, alas, numbered with the gallant Dead, addresses DURHAM:

Neither life nor death shall sever
 That allegiance unremitting,
 Reverence and honour fitting
 Shall be thine from us for ever,
 Mighty Mother, who informed us with the breath of
 high endeavour.

5. But I must not tarry amid our memories, for

to-day I have a sternly practical purpose, and the message of our text emphasizes the past only to warn us against misusing it, and thus missing the guidance and inspiration which it can bring to the present. We may not forget, even in the enthusiasm of loyalty, that the witness of the past is mingled. It warns, saddens, humiliates, as well as stirs, exalts, inspires. Deep shadows mark the long history of DURHAM. The great crises of its history have registered failure, as well as opened the door to new service. This great Church compels us to hold together in our memory a FLAMBARD or a LOUIS DE BEAUMONT, as well as a BEDE or a TUNSTALL. The paradoxes of medieval Christianity have nowhere received a more impressive illustration than in the record of the Princely See of DURHAM. Monastic Institutions played a greater part in the history of England, perhaps, than in that of any other country. Monasticism was coeval with the national Christianity, for the original conversion was the work of Monks. "For the first century of the conversion every monastery was a mission station, and every mission station a monastery." Hence in England almost alone of the countries of Western Christendom cathedrals were often in the hands of the Monks. Monastic Christianity, thus

ancient, powerful, and honoured, fell before the crisis of the Reformation with a suddenness and completeness of ruin which must needs surprise the student of our history. But, in truth, in the course of their prolonged duration, the Monasteries had been failing more utterly than the monks themselves realized. Bishop STUBBS is certainly a weighty and not unsympathetic authority. Yet his verdict is as severe as it is deliberate :

From the end of the 12th century until the Reformation, from the days of HUBERT WALTER to those of WOLSEY, the monasteries remained magnificent hostelries: their churches were splendid chapels for noble patrons: their inhabitants were bachelor country gentlemen, more polished and charitable, but little more learned or more pure in life than their lay neighbours: their estates were well managed, and enjoyed great advantages and exemptions: they were in fact an element of peace in a nation that delighted in war. But with a few noble exceptions there was nothing in the system that did spiritual service: books were multiplied, but learning declined: prayers were offered unceasingly, but the efficacious energy of real devotion was not found in the homes that it had reared.¹

6. When from the monastery we pass to the college which replaced it, and survey the period from the Reformation to the present time, I do not

¹ *Vide* STUBBS, *Historical Introduction*, p. 437.

think that we can avoid a sense of disappointment. There are bright lights now and again, but the intervals of gloom are protracted, and the shadows are deep indeed. Perhaps the prevailing impression (at least we who in our measure must bear the censure of the fault may fitly make the confession) is that of inadequacy,—to the magnitude of the resources, to the greatness of the opportunities, to the urgency of the need, everywhere an inadequacy which a few great names, thinly scattered over nearly four centuries, cannot succeed in disproving. Like NEHEMIAH remembering on his knees the ruins of Jerusalem, we, as here in GOD'S immediate Presence we recall the past, may, nay must, use the language of self-accusation: "LET THINE EAR NOW BE ATTENTIVE, AND THINE EYES OPEN, THAT THOU MAYEST HEARKEN UNTO THE PRAYER OF THY SERVANT, WHICH I PRAY BEFORE THEE AT THIS TIME, FOR THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL THY SERVANTS, WHILE I CONFESS THE SINS OF THE CHILDREN OF ISRAEL, WHICH WE HAVE SINNED AGAINST THEE: YEA, I AND MY FATHER'S HOUSE HAVE SINNED." This Commemoration comes home to us of the College of DURHAM with something of the humbling significance of a Day of Divine Visitation. This Service turns our

thoughts to the past not only in reverent thankfulness to ALMIGHTY GOD, and in homage to the great Departed, but also in humble search for guidance, and in solemn self-dedication to our appointed tasks. For "WE ARE NOT OF THEM THAT SHRINK BACK UNTO PERDITION ; BUT OF THEM THAT HAVE FAITH UNTO THE SAVING OF THE SOUL."

7. This is beyond all others a domestic festival. The carefully explicit language of QUEEN MARY'S Statutes makes it quite evident that every member of the Foundation from the DEAN to the youngest Chorister was intended to be in his place to add his personal contribution to the common worship. It is worth while dwelling for a moment on the variously blended constituents of our society, for perhaps those who criticize the Cathedral Bodies have but an inadequate notion of their composition, history, work, and purpose. There were four objects which this College was intended to serve. First and foremost, there was to be maintained in this Church, on a scale of reverent dignity, the public worship of ALMIGHTY GOD, day in and day out, through the sacred cycle of Fast and Festival, without intermission for ever. This primary purpose was served especially by the establishment of the Choir, the Precentor, the Minor Canons, the Organist, the Lay

Vicars, the singing boys, and it is being carried out to the best of our power. Incidentally, let me observe, the presence of a body of men gifted with musical aptitude and skill in this City serves to raise the standard of musical attainment in the district, and tells as a refining influence far and wide. You will mark the fewness of our lay vicars, and you will remember the solemn and honourable reason. Assuredly our worship to-day will not be the less acceptable to our Merciful GOD because most of HIS servants from the lay vicars' stalls have heard the call of a sterner duty, and have risen willingly to obey it. Next to the Divine Service in this Church comes the teaching of the people. A significant emphasis on preaching is laid in the statement of the duties of DEAN and CANONS. Not only by regular rotation in the Cathedral, but in the parishes of the Diocese, they are required to preach. This duty also we are striving to fulfil to the best of our powers. Then, thirdly, comes the purpose of education. A most precious part of our constitution is "the ancient school of this Cathedral Church" which has grown from the nucleus of the King's Scholars into an important public school holding a definite and considerable place in the hierarchy of the national education. I look forward confidently

to the time when Langley House, the latest addition to the School buildings, will be filled to its utmost capacity, and when the DEAN and CHAPTER will have again to consider the enlargement of the School. I believe that DURHAM SCHOOL is destined to become the great public school of Northern England, unique in its hold on the popular confidence, as in its historic interest and antiquity. If education be indeed the shaping of personal character, where could that process be better undertaken than in this place, where so many ennobling influences of the past and the present bear upon the opening mind of boyhood? Nor may I leave unnamed the Choristers' School, where twenty-four boys are receiving a sound education, and stocking their lives in advance with a treasure of great memories and sacred associations with this mighty Church. Worship, Preaching, Education are completed by Charity. Eight Bedesmen, chosen carefully with a special regard to honourable character, are an integral part of our Body. We regard them as truly our Colleagues in the work of this Church, to which indeed they are specifically attached in service. At every point these four purposes, Worship, Preaching, Education, Charity, meet and assist one another. In our different degrees and manners the whole of

us, DEAN, MAJOR CANONS, HONORARY CANONS, MINOR CANONS, SCHOOLMASTERS, LAY VICARS, CHORISTERS, ORGANISTS, VERGERS, SERVANTS, ALMSMEN, are charged with maintaining in efficiency this fourfold work.

By the important changes effected by the agency of Bishop VAN MILDERT a special importance was given, properly and wisely given, to the educational function of this Cathedral. The University owes its beginnings, and such endowments as it possesses, to the wise and far-seeing policy of that great Prelate. Two of our CANONS are also Professors. I welcome the Presence of the Vice-Chancellor, and the Heads of the constituent Colleges, not only on personal grounds, but because I desire that the connexion between the Cathedral and the University, so intimate in the past, shall not be less intimate, though less formal, in the future. When we remember the changes which have taken place during the last two generations, the secularization of fellowships in Oxford and Cambridge, and the consequent disappearance of a numerous class of academic clergy which (whatever may have been their practical defects) did at least serve to raise the level of clerical learning in the National Church, I say, when we remember this, we cannot avoid the

conclusion that, in any future revision of the Cathedral Establishments, the interests of clerical education should hold a primary place.

But I must conclude. The extraordinary circumstances of the time must be my apology for entering on so large a discourse. Never, surely, in all the centuries of our history, did we meet in a graver time, never, surely, did our Thanksgiving for Founders and Benefactors rise from more anxious and troubled minds. May the GOD of our Fathers be with us still! May we have grace and power to be faithful to our great trust! May we, as the Saints of old "ENDURE AS SEEING HIM WHO IS INVISIBLE"! For indeed "WE ARE NOT OF THEM THAT SHRINK BACK UNTO PERDITION; BUT OF THEM THAT HAVE FAITH UNTO THE SAVING OF THE SOUL."

XX

CHANGE AND CONTINUITY¹

THE VOICE OF ONE SAYING, CRY. AND ONE SAID, WHAT SHALL I CRY? ALL FLESH IS GRASS, AND ALL GOODLINESS THEREOF IS AS THE FLOWER OF THE FIELD: THE GRASS WITHERETH, THE FLOWER FADETH; BECAUSE THE BREATH OF THE LORD BLOWETH UPON IT: SURELY THE PEOPLE IS GRASS. THE GRASS WITHERETH, THE FLOWER FADETH: BUT THE WORD OF OUR GOD SHALL STAND FOR EVER.—*Isaiah* xl. 6-8.

THE WORLD PASSETH AWAY, AND THE LUST THEREOF: BUT HE THAT DOETH THE WILL OF GOD ABIDETH FOR EVER.—I *St. John* ii. 17.

I. RETROSPECT over so many centuries as are gathered into this Commemoration must needs be in the highest degree thought-provoking. Two reflections, perhaps, rise in the mind of every considering man as he joins in this service and hears the Preacher rehearse in stately sequence the famous names of "FOUNDERS AND BENEFACTORS"—how changeful is human life, how persistent is human faith. Change and continuity, change conditioning

¹ Preached on the occasion of the COMMEMORATION OF FOUNDERS AND BENEFACTORS in Durham Cathedral, January 27, 1918, being the last occasion of my preaching as Dean of Durham.

continuity, continuity assimilating change—these are the two lessons of such a history as that which we recall to-day, and, in preaching the Commemoration Sermon, I desire to emphasize and interpret both. The passages from the Old Testament and from the New which I have united in the text serve to set forward with sublime impressiveness the conclusion to which we shall be brought.

2. And first of Change. Mortality implies mutation. The rapid succession of the generations changes the human agents, and it needs no words to point out the far-reaching consequences of that fact. Policies have their practical effect at least as much from those who must carry them out as from those who design them. Institutions are what men make them even more than what men meant them to be. There is no more pathetic contrast in the world than that between the intention of Founders and the actual character of their Foundations. For men have large plans and small vision, mighty ambitions and petty resources. They work always under sentence of death, and they cannot choose their successors. The formula of purpose may be unchanged, but the emphasis will vary. Even Divine Truth, as alone it reaches us, cannot stand outside this humbling necessity. "WE HAVE THE TREASURE IN EARTHEN VESSELS,"

says the Apostle. No two generations stand precisely on the same level, none is wholly intelligible to any other, though none is fully intelligible apart from the rest. For every generation succeeds to a situation created by its predecessors, and it must hand on in turn to its successor a situation which is altered, enriched by its labours and impoverished by its failures. Every man belongs to his own age, and is not wholly in harmony with any other. "Life is a river in which no man twice dips his feet," said that ancient Greek thinker on whom the striking judgment has been passed that "he who once hears the sayings of HERACLITUS never forgets them for the rest of his life."¹

3. Next, of continuity, which, not less than change, is attested by this service. Which of us could have listened to that great succession of famous names from ST. CUTHBERT, who lies buried behind the Neville Screen, to Bishop WESTCOTT, whom many here can yet remember, and not feel his heart kindling with an exultant consciousness of the insignificance of Death and the conquering greatness of human Faith. What a various company all bound into a single purpose! What a multitude of contributory streams swelling the volume of a single

¹ Vide ADAMS, *Religious Teachers of Greece*, p. 214.

river ! The generations with their problems, conflicts, crises, exultations and despairs, their crimes and glories, pass, and before our awed and considering minds rises the spiritual Fact which unifies, interprets, pardons, rewards them all. "THE GRASS WITHERETH, THE FLOWER FADETH : BUT THE WORD OF OUR GOD SHALL STAND FOR EVER." "THE WORLD PASSETH AWAY, AND THE LUST THEREOF : BUT HE THAT DOETH THE WILL OF GOD ABIDETH FOR EVER."

4. Change and continuity, the very marks of life, are significantly pictured by this mighty and magnificent Cathedral, and suggestively preached by this annual Commemoration of Founders and Benefactors. On every side as you traverse these hallowed courts your eye encounters the memorials of a vanished past—here ■ fading fresco on the wall, and here a forlornly empty niche, and here again a pavement worn into grooves, where once knelt the pilgrims from far and near who came to pray at a Shrine which has gone. The great Church entombs an Epoch, and stands now in the eager toiling society of the North as the consecrated boulders of Stonehenge on the Wiltshire Downs, aloof, enigmatic, alone. That is one side of the Cathedral's witness, melancholy, perplexing, even full of deep dis-

couragement : but the man who will receive no more deprives himself of the greater truth which DURHAM CATHEDRAL proclaims. The changes written on this time-battered pile are less significant than the continuity which it attests. Religious fashion has altered, but not Religion : modes of expressing belief have changed, but not Faith : forms of discipline and government have no fixity, but morality and order stand. Faith persists in DURHAM, and the Worship of GOD in CHRIST has not failed, and the Preaching of the "WORD OF THE CROSS" to the sin-laden generations goes on. Here in the twentieth century, as in every previous century of its long record, DURHAM CATHEDRAL has called men and women, the creatures, servants, and victims of remorseless Time, to conquer their natural weakness, and on the wings of Faith to rise above and beyond this transitory scene to GOD, the Everlasting and Unchanging, from Whom they come, in Whom they live, to Whom in the end they shall surely return. "THE VOICE OF ONE SAYING, CRY. AND ONE SAID, WHAT SHALL I CRY? ALL FLESH IS GRASS, AND ALL GOODLINESS THEREOF IS AS THE FLOWER OF THE FIELD : THE GRASS WITHERETH, THE FLOWER FADETH ; BECAUSE THE BREATH OF THE LORD BLOWETH UPON IT : SURELY THE PEOPLE IS GRASS.

THE GRASS WITHERETH, THE FLOWER FADETH :
BUT THE WORD OF OUR GOD SHALL STAND FOR
EVER." "THE WORLD PASSETH AWAY, AND THE
LUST THEREOF : BUT HE THAT DOETH THE WILL
OF GOD ABIDETH FOR EVER." I might sum up the
twofold witness of DURHAM in WORDSWORTH'S
incomparable lines on the river Duddon, lines which
both outline a philosophy and proclaim a creed :

I thought of Thee, my partner and my guide,
As being past away.—Vain sympathies !
For, backward, DUDDON, as I cast my eyes,
I see what was, and is, and will abide ;
Still glides the Stream, and shall for ever glide ;
The Form remains, the Function never dies ;
While we, the brave, the mighty, and the wise,
We Men, who in our morn of youth defied
The elements, must vanish ;—be it so !
Enough, if something from our hands have power
To live, and act, and serve the future hour ;
And if, as toward the silent tomb we go,
Through love, through hope, and faith's transcendent dower
We feel that we are greater than we know.

Let me pause at this point, and lay a wreath of
reverent and kindly homage on the bed where
WILLIAM GREENWELL lies dead after a life pro-
longed to the extreme limit of human living here on
earth. Nearly a century, 1820 to 1918, passed
between his birth and his death, and for the most

part of that long period he was actively and beneficently concerned with this great Church, and the history of this part of England. His name will always be associated with DURHAM, its school, its university, its city, above all, its incomparable Cathedral, which owes to him not only a long official service, but a jealously loving vigilance, and that vivid and informing little book which enables the visitor to learn the salient facts of its history and architecture in pages glowing with enthusiasm and crammed with knowledge. I had the privilege of Dr. GREENWELL'S acquaintance only during the last five years, but I formed a warm regard for him, and conceived a great admiration for his ability. Among more than a thousand letters of congratulation which have come to me during the last few weeks, none touched me more than the very generously expressed letter which he penned and signed with his own hand at the age, as he reminded me, of nearly ninety-eight years. It will be long indeed before the memory of his shrewd and sometimes caustic speech, his devotion to Nature and to his friends, young and old, his amazing and many-sided interest in affairs, his striking and masterful, yet very lovable, personality, will fade from the recollection of the North.

5. From the past with its memories of pathos and glory, and from the present with its insistent pressure of problems and conflicts, we pass to the Future which now faces us. Never, I suppose, have men been more sorely tried ; never have they looked out upon prospects more dismaying and terrible. War, which has wasted the world for three and a half years, continues, and though with eager and longing eyes we search the horizon, we can as yet see there no trustworthy tokens of peace. Already the effects of this terrific and protracted strain are becoming apparent. The mighty fabric of civilization is showing ominous cracks and fissures, portending irreparable collapse. The world trembles on the brink of chaos. Mankind is bleeding to death. When we seek to describe the horrors of the situation, gathering into a single picture the varied miseries of a conflict which is coextensive with humanity, words fail us, and a paralysis befalls our thought. Perforce we adopt the language of apocalypse, and find ourselves repeating the sombre words of the Gospel, with a new sense of their poignant significance : " THERE SHALL BE SIGNS IN SUN AND MOON AND STARS ; AND UPON THE EARTH DISTRESS OF NATIONS, IN PERPLEXITY FOR THE ROARING OF THE SEA AND THE BILLOWS ; MEN

FAINTING FOR FEAR, AND FOR EXPECTATION OF THE THINGS WHICH ARE COMING ON THE WORLD : FOR THE POWERS OF THE HEAVENS SHALL BE SHAKEN."

6. To find ourselves driven to adopt such language is at the same time to be led to a perception of what our present distresses really signify. We see that this tragical time has its place in the succession of those supreme catastrophes in and through which the Providence of GOD has achieved the greater triumphs of HIS Righteousness. Looking back across the thirteen centuries which part the age of ST. CUTHBERT from our own, we must needs break them up into epochs, each one led in by terrific calamities, and each one marking a distinct stage in the forward march of Mankind. This great Church was the creature, and is the monument, of the Norman Conquest. It rose while the passions and struggles of that fearful crisis were yet recent. The glorious Nave of DURHAM, surely one of the choicest treasures of ancient architecture and a precious heirloom of the English People, perpetuates an epoch of cruel oppression, and was itself the work of one whose cruel and cynical oppressiveness excludes him from that place in our Roll of Benefactors, to which his work would surely

have assigned him. In the age of RANULPH FLAMBARD and his master WILLIAM RUFUS the outlook of Englishmen was dark indeed. What seemed to lie before them but bondage under the iron heel of foreigners, hateful in their customs and unintelligible in their language? Yet we can see now that the Norman Conquest was an indispensable link in the chain of events which in due course brought English Liberty to its glorious fulness. The hard discipline of the alien led Englishmen out of political incoherence and weakness into an ordered and stable freedom. Pass down the stream of Time for five centuries, and you reach another epoch of immense confusion and suffering, which yet, as we review it now, appears as one of the watersheds of history, the point from which flow those strong rivers of religious, intellectual, and political movement which are yet fertilizing our modern world. The present College of Dean and Canons is the creature and monument of the Reformation. It owed its Charter to King HENRY VIII., and its constitution reflects the same broad policy as that which inspired the re-constitution of the National Church.

7. From the past turn your thoughts to the present. Can we doubt, with these illuminating

precedents of our national history before us, that though we stoop

Into a dark tremendous sea of cloud,
It is but for a time ;

that the "GREAT TRIBULATION" through which we are passing is but the prelude of a new epoch of national progress? I say "national progress," because Durham Cathedral is a treasury of national memories, and inevitably on such an occasion as this our thoughts must turn first to England and to England's Church. But what is true of the nation is true also of every nation, and of all mankind. "VERILY, THOU ART A GOD THAT HIDEST THYSELF" was the cry of ancient faith, "PERPLEXED, YET NOT UNTO DESPAIR." "THY WAY IS IN THE SEA: AND THY PATHS IN THE GREAT WATERS, AND THY FOOTSTEPS ARE NOT KNOWN," sang the Psalmist, overwhelmed with the sense of the paradox and wonder of History, and yet not driven thereby from his moorings in Religion. The tender poet, whose gentle heart was all but broken by the darkness and burden of existence, rose to the same height when he penned the familiar lines :

GOD moves in a mysterious way,
His wonders to perform ;
HE plants HIS footsteps in the sea,
And rides upon the storm.

Be sure that the History of the twentieth century is not less serviceable to the Divine purpose than was the History of the eleventh century and of the sixteenth, that GOD is with us as HE was with our Fathers, and that HIS sovereign and righteous purpose cannot be finally defeated by the violence and folly of men. Be sure that in the retrospect of future generations, enfranchised by our sorrows, the Great War will be seen to be the travail-pangs of a new Birth in Time, the bringing in of a better world, purer, juster, freer, kinder, than that which is sinking into ruin before our eyes. "THE GRASS WITHERETH, THE FLOWER FADETH: BUT THE WORD OF OUR GOD SHALL STAND FOR EVER."

8. Permit me before I close to add a few words of a personal character. As you all know, this is the last sermon I shall preach here as the Head of this great Foundation. The five years of my life here have been momentous years in the world's life, momentous years in the life of ENGLAND. I thank GOD that I was permitted to live through them here in the North, where it has been my privilege to see aspects of the national life, which I had not seen before, and to discover powers of the national character, which hitherto I had not fully known.

Now that the time has come for me to lay down the ministry which I have held in this Cathedral, I do so with a deep sense of indebtedness to the People of DURHAM. For the rest, I will adapt and repeat here the words in which I bade farewell to WESTMINSTER five years ago, for I can find none more fitting.

It only remains that I should thank you all, as I do from my heart, for your considerate patience and undeviating loyalty, so far beyond my merits. I have always possessed the comfort and strength of knowing that, whatever might be the case elsewhere, here in DURHAM I have been trusted and loved. I go from a great Church to a great Church, from one ancient home of English Religion to another. If I might dare to confess the sentiments with which I shall pass to my new home, I should acknowledge the hope that GOD in HIS goodness may grant that my life in HEREFORD may be enriched and strengthened by the same trust and affection as have made my life in DURHAM as formerly in WESTMINSTER strong and happy. Give me leave to make my farewell in sacred words, and to borrow from the great Apostle (whose wonderful conversion we thankfully remembered last Friday), his affectionate invocation: "NOW THE GOD OF PATIENCE AND

OF COMFORT GRANT YOU TO BE OF THE SAME MIND
ONE WITH ANOTHER ACCORDING TO CHRIST JESUS:
THAT WITH ONE ACCORD YE MAY WITH ONE MOUTH
GLORIFY THE GOD AND FATHER OF OUR LORD
JESUS CHRIST."

XXI

THE FAILURE OF LUTHERANISM, NO DISPROOF OF THE REFORMATION¹

WITH FREEDOM DID CHRIST SET US FREE: STAND FAST THERE-
FORE, AND BE NOT ENTANGLED AGAIN IN A YOKE OF BONDAGE.—
Galatians v. 1.

LAST Thursday, November 1, was an anniversary of more than ordinary interest, and I shall make no apology for making that anniversary the subject of my sermon to-night.

1. At noon on All Saints' Day in the year 1517 MARTIN LUTHER, an Augustinian Monk who was rising quickly into fame as a theological teacher of unusual distinction and as a great popular preacher, nailed his ninety-five Theses to the door of the Castle Church of Wittenberg. If a particular day may be selected as the Birthday of the Reformation, it is perhaps impossible to select any other for the

¹ Preached in Manchester Cathedral on the twenty-second Sunday after Trinity, November 4, 1917, at Evensong.

purpose. It may well be doubted, indeed, whether LUTHER designed anything extraordinary, and it is certain that he did not meditate any such breach with the Medieval Church as he was destined to make. He could not have foreseen the momentous consequences which would flow from his action. Though he suspected it not, and would have shrunk with terror from the prospect, he was challenging the whole religious system of Christendom, universally accepted, rooted deeply in the hearts of men by the use and wont of a thousand years, equipped with the learning of the age, expressing itself gloriously in art and literature, venerable with countless saints. Had it not been for the disastrous obsession of the War, it is certain that the four hundredth anniversary of the Reformation would have been celebrated throughout Germany this year with enthusiasm, and there would not have been lacking from the Celebration a tribute of sympathy from all the nations which accepted the Reformation, and thereby gave a definite direction to their own development. The outbreak of the War must needs have injured such a celebration. The actual course of the War may seem to have rendered it wholly impossible. Germany, the first home of Protestantism, has brought upon the Protestant Name the

heaviest burden of discredit, and even, so at least some among us are loudly proclaiming, has offered the final disproof of Protestant claims. I desire briefly on this occasion to examine the nature, the causes, and the extent of the failure of Lutheranism, in order that I may justify the conclusion to which I would lead you, that the Church of England need not blush for her character as a Reformed or Protestant Church.

2. Assuming that modern Germany (the population of which is largely Roman Catholic) is none the less to be accepted as illustrating the result of Lutheranism, the indictment suggested by the War might be stated in this way. LUTHER broke away from the orthodox tradition of the Church in the name of the individual conscience; and the individual conscience is less alert and active in Germany than elsewhere. LUTHER destroyed the visible unity of Christendom in the interest of the German People; and no people has its rights so cynically sacrificed to dynastic ambitions as the German. LUTHER repudiated the authority of the Church in the name of the authority of GOD'S Word, and nowhere has the credit of the Bible been more effectually undermined than in Germany. LUTHER challenged the medieval hierarchy in the name of

spiritual religion ; and nowhere is materialism so brazen and triumphant as in Germany. "BY THEIR FRUITS YE SHALL KNOW THEM." Modern Germany is the creation of Lutheranism : therefore Lutheranism is condemned. That, in brief, is the indictment now widely stated and still more widely suggested against the Reformation which owns its historic leader in MARTIN LUTHER.

We must never forget that the Germany which we execrate at this moment as the cruel scourge of the civilized world is the victim and slave of Prussia, and that Prussia came last into the European Family, and never really assimilated the Christianity which it perforce professed. Saxony, not Prussia, was the birthplace of the Reformation. "The only countries the Teutons had to themselves were England and Saxony," wrote the late Professor GWATKIN, "and these are the two centres of Protestantism."¹

In the latter half of the thirteenth century the famous Franciscan scholar, ROGER BACON, protested with just indignation against the barbarous cruelty with which the Teutonic Knights were then forcing Christianity on the heathen Prussians at the sword's point. His words read strangely to-day :

¹ Vide *Church and State*, p. 13.

There is no doubt that all the heathen nations beyond Germany would long ago have been converted but for the brutality of the brethren of the German House (*i.e.* the Teutonic Knights), because the pagan race has again and again been ready to receive the faith in peace through preaching. But they of the German House will not allow it, because they want to subjugate them and reduce them to slavery, and by subtle persuasions they have for many years deceived the Roman Church. This is notorious, otherwise I would not make the charge.¹

When, therefore, an indictment against the Reformation is based on the crimes of modern Germany, it is legitimate to point out that modern Germany is identified with Prussia, that the Prussians are not historically entitled to represent the principles of the Reformation, and that their recent and partial acceptance of Christianity disqualifies them very specially for their self-arrogated task. But, apart from this, we may accept all the facts included in this indictment, and yet dissent from it; for there may be other explanations of the present state of Germany, and Lutheranism may be rather the victim than the agent of the servility, materialism, and unbelief, which do undoubtedly degrade modern Germany. Nor may we forget that these evil qualities are not peculiar to modern Germany. They seem, indeed,

¹ *Vide* LITTLE'S *Studies in English Franciscan History*, p. 212, where the reference is given.

to have gained there a prominence, hardly equalled elsewhere, and to that extent to raise a legitimate question as to the reason why German Christianity is so strangely feeble.

It is, I think, the case that the history of Germany is less known in England than that of any European country except Russia. The absence of national unity in Germany until quite recent times is reflected in the confusion of the record. The student finds it difficult to bring the facts into a coherent scheme. Add that the relations of England and Germany, though generally friendly, were (until the accession of the Hanoverian dynasty) never very close or important; and that the German language is, and probably always will be, a formidable barrier to intimacy between the two countries, and we need not seek further for the reasons of an ignorance which is certainly very unfortunate.

3. Now the key to the failure of Lutheranism is the history of Germany. In the sixteenth century as in the twentieth, Germany has been the victim of its reigning houses, and especially of the HABSBURGS in the earlier age, who linked its fortunes disastrously to the *Weltpolitik* of Spain, and of the HOHENZOLLERNS in the later, who have linked its fortunes to another *Weltpolitik* even less respectable. The

weakness of the medieval empire had stimulated the growth of semi-independent states, and these in turn had impinged on the authority of the central power, until at the time of the Reformation the strongest factor in Germany was the principle of territorial sovereignty. Nothing else stood between German society and anarchy. The Reformation was first saved, and then sacrificed, by this steadily waxing power of the Princes. Just as in England the Reformation increased enormously the strength of the national Monarchy, so in Germany, where there was no national Monarchy, but only the ghost of the Holy Roman Empire, it added strength to the local sovereigns. A national Monarchy, like that of the Tudors, may be despotic, but in its national character lies the remedy of its despotism. The despotism wanes as the spirit of the people waxes strong, until the Monarchy becomes constitutional, and the nation attains to complete liberty. But in Germany the subdivisions of the country killed the national spirit, and the despotism of the local Princes was persistent and incurable.

Lutheranism became in quick succession the pet, the handmaid, and the bond-slave of the territorial principle. The yoke was forged and fastened in the furnace of religious war. When LUTHER died in

1546, Germany was rent with cruel and sanguinary civil strife in which the Reformation became little more than the pretext of princely ambition. In 1555 the Peace of Augsburg secured a breathing space of half a century at the price of a compromise which sealed the fate of Lutheranism by sacrificing its primary principle. "For the future each territorial secular Prince might choose between the Catholic and Lutheran faith, and his decision was to bind all his subjects. If a subject rejected his sovereign's religion the only privilege he could claim was liberty to migrate into other lands." Professor POLLARD'S comment on this settlement is not too severe :

Cujus regio ejus religio is a maxim as fatal to true religion as it is to freedom of conscience ; it is the creed of Erastian despotism, the formula in which the German territorial Princes expressed the fact that they had mastered the Church as well as the State. Even for Princes religious liberty was limited to the choice of one out of two alternatives, the dogmas of Rome or those of Wittenberg. The door of Germany was barred against ZWINGLI, CALVIN, and SOCINUS ; and in neither the Lutheran nor the Roman Church was there the same latitude that there was in the Catholic Church of the Middle Ages. . . .

There is no more disappointing epoch in German history than the reign of CHARLES V. ; if in its course it shattered some idols, it also shattered ideals. It began full of hope, and the nation seemed young. There were plans for reforming the Church and renewing the Empire ;

no one dreamt of dividing the one and destroying the other. Yet such was the result. The Reformation began with ideas and ended in force. In the Germany of the sixteenth, as in that of the nineteenth century, an era of liberal thought closed in a fever of war; the persuasions of sweetness and light were drowned by the beat of the drum and the blare of the trumpet; and methods of blood and iron supplanted the forces of reason. No ideas, it was found, in religion or politics, could survive unless they were cast in the hard material mould of German territorialism.¹

The Peace of Augsburg was a sacrifice of principle: and "no half-measure was ever pursued by a more relentless Nemesis." It drew upon Germany the crowning disaster of the Thirty Years' War (1618-1648), of which the degrading effects are still traceable in every part of German national life. These effects, material and moral, writes SIR ADOLPHUS WARD in the *Cambridge Modern History*, "furnish perhaps the most appalling demonstrations of the consequences of war to be found in history. The mighty impulses which the great movements of the Renaissance and the Reformation had imparted to the aspirations and efforts of contemporary German life were quenched in the century of religious conflict which ended with the exhausting struggle of the Thirty Years' War;

¹ Vide *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. ii. p. 278.

the mainspring of the national life was broken, and, to all seeming, broken for ever." It is impossible for a considering Christian in the midst of a War, vaster in scale and not less atrocious in character than that which was ended by the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, to read without apprehension the historian's account of the degradation which befell religion in the course of the conflict :

In the midst of this social chaos religion, in whose name these iniquities were perpetrated, was trampled in the mire : but in its place superstition reared its hundred heads unchecked. No doubt, in this instance also the age had but entered into a *damnosa hereditas* of previous generations ; but it put out the legacy to multiple usury. Terror, suffering, the loss of all effective spiritual guidance and the absence of all controlling mental discipline, drove the population at large—and first and foremost the soldiers who were the prime agents of the universal unsettlement—headlong into the wildest and most irrational varieties of misbelief. In the earlier years of the war the popular delusions as to witches and witchcraft from time to time demanded their saturnalia of sacrifice ; but, as the conflict went on, men's minds became more and more unhinged by the volume of sufferings which overwhelmed the country ; and though these very sufferings diverted public attention from minor causes, or supposed causes of trouble and calamity, we hear to the last of wholesale burnings of witches—as if something must be done to balance the account with the author of evil.¹

¹ Vide *Cambridge Modern History*, vol. iv. p. 423.

The Peace of Westphalia in 1648 did not mark the end of strife. A half-century of comparative repose was succeeded by fresh conflicts, which continued almost without intermission until far on in the nineteenth century. The wars of Religion were followed by the dynastic wars, and these in turn by the wars which grew from the French Revolution. Germany—we ought never to forget it—has had scarcely a century of internal peace in which to acquire the habits of civilization. If this fact adds a peculiar absurdity to her claim to possess a superior Kultur, it also goes far to explain, and even to extenuate, her monstrous aberrations from the inherited standards of Christendom. Is it fair, or reasonable, to visit on LUTHER'S Memory a belated barbarism, which has its real origin so plainly written on the page of history? If in England (we will limit the reference to our own country) a higher standard of taste and feeling has been reached, and Christianity seems to have taken a firmer root among the people, who will deny that the fortunate circumstances of the national history provide the main explanation of the fact?

4. The supreme and unassailable merit of LUTHER lies in the fact that he led the way in the process of spiritual enfranchisement, which we

call the Reformation. He had great faults: in many respects he never transcended the moral and intellectual limitations of his age: he had not the tolerance of CRANMER and MELANCHTHON, or the largeness of mind which marked ZUINGLIUS, or the organizing genius of CALVIN, or the erudite wisdom of ERASMUS. He was a German Peasant in feeling to the last, and his modes of thinking remained medieval throughout his career. But he was cast in a large mould, and was never consciously false to his perceptions of truth. Lutheranism represented the most conservative section of the revolt from medievalism. If in England the retention of the episcopate, and the preservation of the hierarchy as an integral part of the constitution seem to give to the Reformed Church an appearance of continuity with pre-Reformation conditions, it must never be forgotten that in two respects the Church of England broke with the medieval system far more decisively than did the Lutheran. Its doctrinal confession inclined to Calvinism: and it adopted a radical treatment of the Mass. Nothing can be more surprising to the student of Anglican history than the attempt, so familiar to modern Anglicans, to represent the Anglican doctrine about the LORD'S Supper as essentially identical with the medieval

doctrine about the Mass. From one end of England to the other, in cathedral and village church alike, the drastic character of the difference was carried home to the minds of the people by the demolition of the stone altars, the removal of the furniture and ornaments of the churches, the prohibition and official destruction of the Mass vestments. You may regret this ; you may desire after the lapse of 350 years to go back on the decisions of the Reformers ; you may succeed in persuading the authorities of the modern Church to condone your breaches of the law, and even to approve your programme of retrogression, but you are not free as an honest student of history to conceal from yourself, or from others, the character of your action. You are engaged upon an attempt to undo the Reformation. To undo the Reformation does not mean the same thing as recognizing its defects, remedying its faults, rising above the violent prejudices which inevitably influenced its course, recovering those precious factors of the medieval tradition which were unhappily swept away in the vehement revolt against intolerable practical abuses which it expressed. On the contrary, all this is really part of an intelligent and discriminating estimate of the Reformation, and indeed is in-

separable from a faithful tenure of those principles which are the eternally true elements in it. You undo the Reformation when you go back on its vital principles, and revert to the beliefs and assumptions which they necessarily disallowed.

5. The essential character of the Reformation is sometimes expressed in terms of negation, but this is misleading. Every assertion of truth is also a denial of error; and it is always possible to represent the Gospel as the repudiation of the Law. In the circumstances of the time, the Reformers were perforce also Protestants, because the established system of Christendom was itself pledged to the very errors which the new truth disallowed. But the essence of the Reformation was not protest so much as revelation, or perhaps reaffirmation of truth. They err grossly who speak with scorn of the Protestant Reformation as a merely negative movement. Private judgment, the Supremacy of Scripture, the Priesthood of the Laity, the Freedom of Christians in the use of Creatures, the Divine Right of the Nation in ecclesiastical concerns, and Justification by Faith, were so many affirmations of positive and vital truth, yet all may be expressed in negative terms. We may say that the Reformation implied a sixfold repudiation of the medieval

system. In England, as in Germany and Holland, Switzerland and Scotland, though in varying measures of deliberate purpose, and with differing distribution of emphasis, the Reformers agreed in repudiating the authority of Tradition in matters of faith, the control of external authority over the individual conscience, the subordination of the Laity to the Priesthood, Asceticism, the supreme authority of the Roman Pontiff, and salvation by Sacraments. In all these respects the Reformation was one and the same movement throughout the medieval Church. The Church of England stood with the other Reformed Churches in accepting them all. These constitute the core of "the Protestant Reformed Religion" established by law, which the King at his Coronation pledges himself to maintain. It is now with English Churchmen not merely or mainly a question of dissenting from the Roman Church, but rather of determining the type of Christianity which the Church of England shall accept. The great shock and dislocation of the War, following upon a long and too-little-heeded process of domestic disintegration, has now brought Englishmen again to the point at which they must determine the character of their National Church. History has bequeathed to us two types of Christianity, historically disclosed

at the Reformation, parted now by the stern memories of nearly four centuries of mutual antagonism, and, so far as we can perceive, mutually inconsistent. That memorable dualism of the Reformation has now appeared within the Church of England, and threatens to rend it in twain. It behoves every English Churchman to bring his reason and his conscience to the determination of his personal action. Many voices denounce the Reformation. In many parishes the principles on which the Church of England was reformed are held up to open contempt. Yet those are the principles which have shaped the character of Englishmen, and made England free and great. For my part, I do not think it excessive to take the words of ST. PAUL, and with reference to the momentous issue I have indicated, to address them at this juncture to my fellow-members of the Church of England : " WITH FREEDOM DID CHRIST SET US FREE : STAND FAST THEREFORE, AND BE NOT ENTANGLED AGAIN IN A YOKE OF BONDAGE."

XXII

THE PRINCIPLE OF CHRISTIAN PROGRESS¹

BUT WE ARE NOT OF THEM THAT SHRINK BACK UNTO PERDITION;
BUT OF THEM THAT HAVE FAITH UNTO THE SAVING OF THE SOUL.—
Hebrews x. 39.

I. THESE words carry back our minds to the first and greatest crisis of Christianity, for they were written (if we may assume the soundness of what appears the most probable opinion on the point) just before the outbreak of the Jewish War, in which the political framework of Judaism was to perish, and Israel as a nation was to be blotted out from the world's reckoning. The Hebrew believers had clung to their ancestral connexions. Neither the harshness of the Jewish authorities, nor the eager reasonings of ST. PAUL, had been able to loosen their hold on the religious habit which they had

¹ Preached in the City Temple on Passion Sunday, March 25, 1917, in the morning.

received from the past. They had persisted in assuming that the Divinely ordained system of Israel would ultimately prove itself to be elastic enough to include the new Society of Disciples, that (in spite of the LORD'S warning) the "OLD WINE-SKINS" of Jewish legalism would be able to contain the "NEW WINE" of Evangelical liberty. This assumption determined their religious practice, and governed their theological thinking. At the end of a whole generation from the LORD'S departure, they remained still, to outward seeming, devout Israelites, regular worshippers in the Temple on Zion, differing only from the rest by their belief in JESUS as the Messiah, and by the higher level of morality which that belief inspired. Sooner or later, they were persuaded, Israel would acknowledge its true King, and the noble prophecies of Scripture would receive their plenary fulfilment. Moreover, they confidently expected the MESSIAH'S triumphant return to authenticate HIS Claim, and to reward their Faith. These two assumptions, the conversion of Israel, and the speedy Coming of CHRIST, were the substructures of their personal religion, on which they built a fabric of patience and hope strong enough to sustain the repeated shocks of disappointment and persecution. But inexorable Time was

testing these governing assumptions, and it was slowly but surely disproving them. The Jewish People as a whole was quite clearly hardening its attitude into an irrevocable refusal to accept a Crucified Messiah, and JESUS Himself did not return, as HE had been understood to promise, and as the Hebrews had confidently believed that HE would. A new situation was emerging for these conservative believers, nay had already emerged, and for good or for ill, for the enlargement, or for the destruction, of their faith, they might no longer refuse to face it. In this juncture an inspired writer, the Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, brings the guidance that was needed. He "calls upon his readers to make their choice boldly. Judaism was becoming, if it had not already become, anti-Christian. It must be given up. It was 'NEAR VANISHING AWAY.' The Christian Church must be one and independent." Thus, observes Bishop WESTCOTT, "the Epistle is a monument of the last crisis of conflict out of which the Catholic Church arose."¹

2. With these facts in mind consider the text. "WE CHRISTIANS," says the Apostle, "ARE NOT OF THEM THAT SHRINK BACK UNTO PERDITION ;

¹ Vide *Hebrews*, p. lviii.

BUT OF THEM THAT HAVE FAITH UNTO THE SAVING OF THE SOUL." He sets before us two types of men, and indicates two conceptions of religion. An exacter rendering of the words makes their meaning yet clearer. "WE ARE NOT OF SHRINKING BACK, BUT OF FAITH." Our gaze is directed not backwards to a past which is ever remoter, but forwards to a future which is ever nearer. The principle of our religion is not retrogression to that which once was, and is no more : but progress to that which never yet has been, and yet shall be. We are not a garrison set to guard a beleaguered city, but the Army of the LORD, following HIM to the conquest of the world. Nothing less is the *dénoûment* of human history to which we look forward. ISAIAH'S prophecy is destined to receive fulfilment : "THE EARTH SHALL BE FULL OF THE KNOWLEDGE OF THE LORD, AS THE WATERS COVER THE SEA."

JESUS shall reign where'er the sun
Doth his successive journeys run ;
His kingdom stretch from shore to shore,
Till moons shall wax and wane no more.

The catholicity of the Gospel is disclosed by the simple interpretation of its scope, and the statement of its Divinely guaranteed destiny.

* The two words contrasted in the text, "shrinking back" (*ὑποστολή*), and "faith" (*πίστις*), deserve our careful notice. The first has an interest of its own, as being here only used in the New Testament. It is not found in the Septuagint, or in any other Greek version of the older Scriptures, and it is (we are assured) unused by the classical Greek writers. The verb from which it is formed is, however, found in an interesting passage, which throws light on the text. In the Epistle to the Galatians ST. PAUL is led to give some passages of his own life, and among others that memorable episode when he came into open collision with the chief of the Apostles at Antioch. The question at issue was the recognition of Gentile believers, whom the stricter Jews refused to acknowledge as in the full sense members of the Christian Church. ST. PETER, to whom had been vouchsafed a Divine revelation which left him in no doubt on the question, had first acted with liberality, and then (when orthodox opposition was threatened) had changed his attitude. The more resolute spirit of ST. PAUL could not tolerate such vacillation. "BUT WHEN CEPHAS CAME TO ANTIOCH, I RESISTED HIM TO THE FACE,

* I have repeated much of pp. 235-240. When the substance was required by the argument, it did not seem worth while to vary the phrasing.

BECAUSE HE STOOD CONDEMNED. FOR BEFORE THAT CERTAIN CAME FROM JAMES, HE DID EAT WITH THE GENTILES: BUT WHEN THEY CAME, HE DREW BACK AND SEPARATED HIMSELF, FEARING THEM THAT WERE OF THE CIRCUMCISION." ὑπέστανεν, "HE DREW BACK," playing false through fear to his own convictions. Bishop LIGHTFOOT'S comment is useful:

ST. PETER'S vision had taught him the worthlessness of these narrow traditions. He had no scruples about living ἐθνικῶς. And when in this instance he separated himself from the Gentiles, he practically dissembled his convictions.

That then is what the Greek word suggests,—the timidity of one stealthily retreating. Possibly the notion was suggested by the cautious procedure of a General retiring before superior forces, trying to elude observation in his retreat. We Christians are not, says our Author, timid reactionaries, but men of courageous faith. "WE ARE NOT OF THEM THAT SHRINK BACK UNTO PERDITION; BUT OF THEM THAT HAVE FAITH UNTO THE SAVING OF THE SOUL." "In laconic phrase he offers as the watchword for times of trial, 'Not men of shrinking, but men of faith.'"¹

Now it is not a little remarkable that the Apostle in order to assist his brethren to gain the courage

¹ Vide BRUCE, *Epistle to the Hebrews*, p. 411.

and patience which belong to their profession as Christians, deliberately directs their thoughts to the past, to that past which they are to leave behind, and from which they are to take only the precedents of "FAITH." "CALL TO REMEMBRANCE THE FORMER DAYS" is his counsel, bidding them read the message of their own experience, and renew in the changed circumstances of the present that willingness to venture and to suffer which had marked the beginning of their discipleship. From the relatively narrow sphere of individual experience he passes on to a larger appeal, and bids them perceive the same truth proclaimed throughout history in the records of Faithful Men, an infinitely various company, living in circumstances the most diverse, yet all bearing a common stamp, and visibly moving under a single impulse. "THESE ALL DIED IN FAITH, NOT HAVING RECEIVED THE PROMISES, BUT HAVING SEEN THEM AND GREETED THEM FROM AFAR, AND HAVING CONFESSED THAT THEY WERE STRANGERS AND PILGRIMS ON THE EARTH. FOR THEY THAT SAY SUCH THINGS MAKE IT MANIFEST THAT THEY ARE SEEKING AFTER A COUNTRY OF THEIR OWN. AND IF INDEED THEY HAD BEEN MINDFUL OF THAT COUNTRY FROM WHICH THEY WENT OUT, THEY WOULD HAVE HAD OPPORTUNITY TO

RETURN. BUT NOW THEY DESIRE A BETTER COUNTRY, THAT IS, A HEAVENLY : WHEREFORE GOD IS NOT ASHAMED OF THEM, TO BE CALLED THEIR GOD : FOR HE HATH PREPARED FOR THEM A CITY."

3. Turn from the first century to the twentieth, and consider whether the words of the text do not carry a message for us here and now.

I do not indeed forget, I should be sorry to underrate, the difference—deep, pervading, incalculable—which separates the thinking of the first century from that of the twentieth. The writer and the first readers of this Epistle belonged to their own age, as we do to ours : and the fact in both cases implies much. Nevertheless, when the difference has been fully allowed for, I am persuaded that there is agreement enough between the two epochs of revolutionary transition to make such a consideration as that to which I invite you, both reasonable and fruitful. The conditions of such critical eras are sufficiently similar to make the earlier trustworthy monitors for the later. I believe that if the inspired writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews had to address himself to the Christian Church in England at the present time, his appeal would still be essentially the same. He would still bid us "CALL TO REMEMBRANCE THE FORMER

DAYS," still entreat us "NOT TO CAST AWAY OUR BOLDNESS, WHICH HATH GREAT RECOMPENSE OF REWARD," still warn us that we "HAVE NEED OF PATIENCE," still call us to act as men who "ARE NOT OF THEM THAT DRAW BACK UNTO PERDITION ; BUT OF THEM THAT HAVE FAITH TO THE SAVING OF THE SOUL."

4. What is the real crisis which confronts the Church of CHRIST, and which the War has forced into a prominence which compels universal attention? There is, perhaps, some danger that that crisis shall be misapprehended, and for that reason mishandled : and, therefore, I beg your closest attention while I endeavour to state the facts as I am able to see them. The War has disclosed the political unimportance of the Churches within Christendom, and thereby has startled the multitude of ordinary Christians, who had accepted the conventions of society as evidences of far more than they were competent to prove. But the essence of the crisis is not to be found there. For if the organized Churches, though their direct influence on the course of secular politics were but slight, and though their formal membership were disappointingly small, did yet plainly command the loyalty of the morally highest factors of modern society, and (to adopt the

striking metaphor of the Apostle) were "SEEN AS LIGHTS IN THE WORLD HOLDING FORTH THE WORD OF LIFE," then it would not greatly matter that they were weak in power and in numbers; for, in the frank and involuntary homage of the general conscience, they would possess the pledge and the potency of future victory. The case, however, is far otherwise. A rift has appeared between the best conscience and intelligence of the modern world, and the Churches which claim to represent on earth the Religion of HIM Who revealed Himself as "THE WAY, THE TRUTH, AND THE LIFE"; and that rift widens daily, so that there rises on the vision of a considering believer the awful possibility of a total dissidence, and the foreboding words of the Divine FOUNDER come home to the mind with something of the interest which attaches to the Formula which solves a Problem: "YE ARE THE SALT OF THE EARTH: BUT IF THE SALT HAVE LOST ITS SAVOUR, WHEREWITH SHALL IT BE SALTED? IT IS THENCEFORTH GOOD FOR NOTHING, BUT TO BE CAST OUT AND TRODDEN UNDER FOOT OF MEN." Can the rift be filled up? Can the Christian Society regain the moral supremacy which is essential to its life? or is it indeed destined to shrivel, and pass, while the March of Humanity

proceeds independently alike of its pretensions to lead, and its ability to follow? I have assumed that in the past the Christian Church has possessed that indispensable moral primacy; and a reference to History will justify the assumption. The Apostolic Epistles are themselves sufficient proof that this was the case in the first age; and few competent students of antiquity will be disposed to dispute that the victory of Christianity in the early centuries was fairly won. In the cruel and debased society of the Roman Empire the little communities of Christian believers forced their way first to recognition, and then to supremacy, against fearful odds, by their ability to interpret, to adopt, and to illustrate in practice the moral aspirations of their contemporaries. In the Gospel the Church possessed a magnet of moral excellence which drew into its membership the soundest elements of ancient life. In a sense it is true that Christianity appropriated, rather than contributed, its materials. The "LIGHT OF THE WORLD" revealed the treasures which the reigning gloom had veiled: it did not create them. We must be on our guard against exaggerated pretensions to originality, when we would state the case of historic Christianity. The SPIRIT OF GOD is working over the whole area of human

action, not merely within the society of believers, though doubtless there with special intensity, and we must be quick to discern and reverence HIS Work, wherever it be disclosed. Moral supremacy must always be relative to the existing levels of morality. It may be most complete where the moral standard of society is lowest, but, so long as it is moral supremacy, it will operate as an uplifting force within society, a "LEAVEN" of GOD within the "LUMP" of human life silently transforming it for good. The moral standard of Europe was almost incredibly low during the centuries of barbaric confusion which succeeded the breaking-up of the Roman Empire, and during the feudal epoch which followed, yet, perhaps, the Christian Church was never more apparently and effectively the moral teacher of the nations. It stood in society as a medieval cathedral stands in a city, towering upwards in supreme beauty and strength. We must not, indeed, ignore the moral paradoxes of the time ; still, when full allowance has been made for these, it would be broadly true to say that the Medieval Church was the "LIGHT" and the "SALT" of the world. But this was less and less the case as the modern epoch approached, until, on the eve of the Reformation, a situation had come into existence

suggestively similar to that in which we now stand. The Christian Church (which, to medieval minds, meant the Hierarchy) had lost that "moral supremacy" which is indispensable to the fulfilment of its primary function in human society, and was visibly menaced with dissolution.

5. Just four centuries have passed since two events, unconnected at the time, but seen in the retrospect to have an intimate and melancholy connexion, occurred in Europe. In March 1517 the Lateran Council was concluded, and in November of the same year MARTIN LUTHER nailed his ninety-five Theses to the door of the Castle Church at Wittenberg. The language in which the late Bishop of London has described the attitude of contemporary Christendom might be applied almost without alteration to describe the attitude of our modern world towards ecclesiastical procedures :

Europe as a whole paid little heed to the Council or its proceedings ; and amongst the mass of State papers preserved in every country it is scarcely mentioned. Statesmen were not interested in ecclesiastical questions ; the general tone of thought was national and practical. The new learning employed the minds of thoughtful men ; the spread of commerce attracted the trading classes ; schemes of national aggrandisement filled the minds of statesmen.¹

¹ *Vide* CREIGHTON, *History of the Papacy*, vol. iv. p. 227.

Of the universal contempt into which it had fallen, the Hierarchy as represented by the Pope seemed to be unconscious. Nothing could exceed the complacency with which the Council's achievements were described in the decree of dissolution :

Schism had been destroyed ; all necessary reforms had been accomplished ; the faith had been declared and established ; the Pope had good hope that the peace of Christendom would soon be secured, and that all Europe would unite in war against the Turk.¹

An obscure monk in semi-barbarous Germany was about to comment somewhat startlingly on these pleasant assurances. BISHOP CREIGHTON'S comment is worth quoting :

It is the most astonishing instance of the irony of events that the Lateran Council should have been dissolved with promises of peace on the very verge of the greatest outbreak which had ever threatened the organisation of the Church. It may be pleasant to be free from demands of reform, but it is assuredly dangerous. The quiet of indifference wears the same aspect as the quiet of content ; but it needs only a small impulse to convert indifference into antagonism.²

I have led you deliberately to the great crisis of the Reformation, because, not only do I believe that

¹ *Vide* CREIGHTON, *History of the Papacy*, vol. iv. p. 234.

² *Vide ibid.* p. 235.

the crisis which confronts us now can best be studied in the light of that tremendous event, but also because the message which I desire to deliver connects itself directly with it.

6. If we are agreed that the Christian Church is now confronted by a most formidable crisis : if we perforce interpret the gigantic conflict which now enfolds the civilized world in a mantle of anguish as a "DAY OF THE LORD," in which, as always before, "GOD IS VISITING HIS PEOPLE," then we must needs ask ourselves most solemnly what our personal duty as Christians demands from us. Immediately, at the forefront of our anxious self-interrogation, there rises this old, obstinate problem of "our unhappy divisions." A fissiparous Christianity, such as that in which we have grown up, and in which we are tempted guiltily to acquiesce, was never contemplated in the Gospel. It seems to stultify the language of the Apostles. It goes far to empty of meaning even the "PRECIOUS AND EXCEEDING GREAT PROMISES" of CHRIST. It would indeed be absurd, were it not even more pathetic, to hear the champions of some tiny fragment of the Christian Family applying to their own petty denomination the sublime words of ST. PAUL, and claiming for its interests and ambitions the awful sanctions of the

DIVINE LORD. Let us make no mistake about it. No fellowship smaller than that of "the whole company of Christian people dispersed throughout the world" can claim the promises of the Gospel, or satisfy the descriptions of the Apostles. This reflection will at least moderate the self-assertiveness of our denominationalism, and predispose us to correct our separating dogmata by the larger truths in which the unity of discipleship finds expression. It is wonderful, when once the sincere believer sets himself to compare the two, how petty the first look beside the last. On this point the judgment of the private Christian accords with the verdict of the trained Historian :

"No one," wrote the late PROFESSOR BIGG, "can travel down the long river of time with a scholar's eye, a scholar's reverence for fact, and a scholar's trained discernment, without coming to feel how trivial are the little inferences that part him from his fellow-believers, in comparison with the great axioms in which all are agreed."¹

This is certainly true, but it is not the whole truth. There is more in the witness of history than the proof of Christian agreement in fundamentals. History certifies religious development, and suggests a gradual teaching through experience. The Past, which mitigates our resentments and corrects our

¹ *Vide* BIGG, *The Church's Task under the Roman Empire*, p. viii.

prejudices, also marks out our path, and determines our direction. We cannot go back on our history. In spite of the scandals which marked its stormy course, the Reformation was essentially a process of spiritual advance, not of spiritual retrogression. This is not to deny that there was loss as well as gain in it. We, looking at the Reformation in the light of nearly four centuries, can see that it was a mingled movement, as all human movements must needs be. We lament the loss of that external unity which (though indeed it had shrivelled to a powerless convention) did yet sustain in men's minds the sense of a Catholic fellowship. We admit the faults of the Reformers, their fierce and indiscriminating iconoclasm, their crude dogmatizing, too often their personal unscrupulousness, and strangely illogical intolerance. We regret, and repudiate, their errors and limitations, but we cannot go back on the main truth which History affirms, or challenge a verdict which our experience validates. The Reformation was a mighty movement of the SPIRIT OF GOD, leading the Church forward to a fuller understanding of the Gospel, and bringing to all, who sincerely received it, the gift of a spiritual enfranchisement. If we are agreed so far, and I am persuaded that the general body of Anglicans would join hands

here with the whole multitude of Nonconformists, we must not shrink from drawing a practical inference. The Reformation implied a parting of the roads, and disclosed a new conception of the Christian Church. Every Reformed Church, be its polity what it may, must finally justify its existence by the principle of private judgment. The problem which we have to solve, if we are serious in our desire to restore, or secure, an effective external unity, is far more complex than negotiating a reversion to the old political union which was broken in the sixteenth century. The external unity of the Church must in the future be consistent with the principle of private judgment. It cannot rest on the authority of a Hierarchy, however organized, which claims an exclusive Divine right by title of Dominical appointment. We, the Children of the Reformation, cannot now repudiate its central truth, even in the interest of that outward unity for which we so earnestly long.

It is very important to dwell on the obligation under which we stand, because the Great War is visibly stimulating retrogressive tendencies which only a reasoned conviction will be strong enough to resist. At the end of my sermon I cannot point out in detail the signs of reviving superstition in our

midst. They are indeed sufficiently apparent, and must stir the anxiety of every considering Christian. I only refer to them in order to emphasize my plea that we should hold fast to the Truth which has been given us. Our efforts to unite the Churches are only legitimate, reasonable, and promising if we continue and develop the tradition of the Reformers. And that tradition is not properly to be sought in their doctrinal confessions, which had reference to issues, many of which are no longer vital, and to circumstances which have passed away, still less in their ecclesiastical systems which had necessarily a provisional and even a makeshift character, but in their example of courageous faith, and in their precedent of large innovation in the light of new knowledge. In their day they approved themselves to be "NOT OF THEM THAT SHRINK BACK UNTO PERDITION, BUT OF THEM THAT HAVE FAITH UNTO THE SAVING OF THE SOUL." If we also would be worthy of that description, we must in our turn exhibit the same temper. The true principle of the Reformation was disclosed in that memorable speech of JOHN ROBINSON, known as "the father of the Independents," in which he charged the Puritans before they sailed for America to cherish the spirit of candid receptiveness :

If GOD reveal anything to you by any other instrument of HIS, be as ready to receive it as ever you were to receive any truth by my ministry; for I am verily persuaded, the LORD has more truth yet to break out of HIS holy Word. . . . I beseech you to remember, it is an article of your church-covenant, that you be ready to receive whatever truth shall be made known to you from the written Word of God.¹

7. This is no ordinary occasion, and this is no ordinary time. You will not doubt that the words which I have addressed to you this morning have been anxiously and prayerfully weighed. I have come here to this central Church of English Nonconformity at the courteous invitation of those who are the responsible authorities in order to claim as an English clergyman my liberty of religious fellowship with the members of those Evangelical Churches, called in this country Nonconformist, which share with the parent Church of England the heritage of the Reformation. I have come here in order to renew the appeal which ARCHBISHOP SANCROFT made in 1688, a critical year for England and for Europe, when he urged the Bishops in their addresses to the clergy and people of their respective dioceses, . . . that they warmly and most affectionately exhort them to join with us in daily fervent prayer to the GOD of peace,

¹ *Vide* NEAL'S *History of the Puritans*, Part II. chap. ii.

*for an universal blessed union of all reformed churches, both at home and abroad, against our common enemies; and that all they, who do confess the holy Name of our dear LORD, and do agree in the truth of His holy Word, may also meet in one holy Communion, and live in perfect unity and godly love.*¹

On the basis of the Reformation everything is possible. We can come together for common worship without violating any "principle": we can discuss together as fellow-disciples the common interests of CHRIST'S Kingdom: we can revise our systems without humiliation in deference to the new needs which the War has disclosed: we can face, with the confidence of Faith and in the strength of united Prayer, the moral and intellectual questions of our time which challenge, or seem to challenge, our inherited standards of faith and conduct: we can pass under examination every part of the rich heritage of the past, not that of the first four centuries only, or of the last four, but that of all the centuries since the first, for in all the HOLY SPIRIT was active as Teacher, Guide, and Comforter of CHRIST'S People, and by the aid of the same Divine SPIRIT we in our time also can bring forth from our rich and manifold Treasure "THINGS NEW AND OLD." Reject that basis of

¹ *Vide* WILKINS, *Concilia*, vol. iv. p. 619.

the Reformation, and do not deceive yourself. Nothing is possible : you may multiply conferences, and indulge in the language of an almost exaggerated fraternity, but you will effect nothing. Antiquarian investigations into the probable origins of the Christian Ministry may fitly amuse the leisure of the learned, but they have no relevance to any religious issue. Nothing that historians can agree upon with respect to such matters can alter the fact that the sanction of CHRIST, demonstrated by the "FRUITS OF THE SPIRIT," rests on the great "new departure" of the Reformation. There can be no going back on that. "WITH FREEDOM DID CHRIST SET US FREE: LET US STAND FAST, AND NOT BE ENTANGLED AGAIN IN A YOKE OF BONDAGE."

That is the whole gist of my Message to you who are Nonconformists, and to my fellow-Anglicans alike. In circumstances of far greater peril to our religion and to our country than those which suggested SANCROFT'S appeal, I plead for the recognition of the essential agreement of those who accept the Reformation. I do so in the interest, not merely of immediate efficiency for the tasks which are coming upon us, but also in the interest of a completer Reconciliation presently — a Reconciliation which shall embrace all the members of the Chris-

tian Family. To seek the fellowship of the unreformed Churches of East and West, while leaving our own kith and kin, who share our religious point of view and are in daily contact with us, estranged and disowned, is to deceive ourselves, and to court defeat. "Charity begins at home." Let us first solve the problem of effective union among ourselves, whom so many forces of the Past and of the Present are drawing together, and then it may be that the yet larger ideal will claim us. History, that is the Voice of the SPIRIT in Christian experience, is an ever-present, ever-active Teacher. In following the guidance which unfolds itself in History the CHURCH moves forward to that supreme consummation which the prophetic vision of ST. PAUL beheld when he dwelt with reverent enthusiasm on the Glory of CHRIST, the Reconciler and Redeemer of Mankind. As Jew and Gentile in the past, so Catholic and Protestant in the future shall finally meet in a common devotion to HIM. "FOR HE IS OUR PEACE, WHO MADE BOTH ONE, AND BRAKE DOWN THE MIDDLE WALL OF PARTITION, HAVING ABOLISHED IN HIS FLESH THE ENMITY, EVEN THE LAW OF COMMANDMENTS CONTAINED IN ORDINANCES: THAT HE MIGHT CREATE IN HIMSELF OF THE TWAIN ONE NEW MAN, SO MAKING

PEACE: AND MIGHT RECONCILE THEM BOTH IN ONE BODY UNTO GOD THROUGH THE CROSS, HAVING SLAIN THE ENMITY THEREBY: AND HE CAME AND PREACHED PEACE TO YOU THAT WERE FAR OFF, AND PEACE TO THEM THAT WERE NIGH: FOR THROUGH HIM WE BOTH HAVE OUR ACCESS IN ONE SPIRIT UNTO THE FATHER."

XXIII

THE UNCHANGING FACTOR IN CHRISTIANITY¹

JESUS CHRIST IS THE SAME, YESTERDAY, AND TO-DAY, YEA, AND FOR EVER.—*Hebrews* xiii. 8.

I. THERE is nothing which appeals so powerfully to human nature as the notion of unchanging persistence, for that notion stands in welcome contrast with human life and its conditions. We live in a world of ceaseless change, and we ourselves share the general instability. "Life is a stream in which no man twice dips his foot," said HERACLEITUS, and the thought is echoed by the more religious thinkers of Israel: "WE ARE STRANGERS BEFORE THEE, AND SOJOURNERS, AS ALL OUR FATHERS WERE: OUR DAYS ON THE EARTH ARE AS A SHADOW, AND THERE IS NO ABIDING." It is, indeed, the case that we may easily allow ourselves to be cheated by the relative stability of some factors of our experience.

¹ Preached in the City Temple on March 25, 1917, in the Evening.

Men settle themselves into grooves of use and wont : they travel in company on beaten roads : and it is no marvel if they credit these with an immutability which they do not, and cannot, possess. In politics, in society, in religion, the same delusive rigidity leads to the same natural error. For this reason the advance of Humanity upwards from aboriginal savagery has never been unopposed or unembarrassed. It has always taken the aspect of crisis and of conflict. The proverb of the Gospel receives fresh attestations of truth from every succeeding age : "NEW WINE MUST BE PUT INTO FRESH WINE SKINS. AND NO MAN HAVING DRUNK OLD WINE DESIRETH NEW : FOR HE SAITH, THE OLD IS GOOD." It would be true to say that the pace of change in human affairs varies wonderfully. There are long periods of comparative immobility ; and these are broken into by episodes of revolutionary change. Progress is by the method of recurrent crisis. The history of mankind is divided up into epochs.

2. There will be general agreement in the proposition, that of all the crises of recorded human history the most momentous was that which ushered in the Christian era.

"The old Gnostics," observes the late DR. BIGG, "called the Cross 'Horos,' the Boundary or Dividing

Line. The Gnostics were a curious people, but they were right here. On this side of the Cross all history is, or ought to be, a different thing to what it is on the other, and every one who carries the Cross, in so far as he carries it, is a better citizen, a better philosopher, and a better man than he would have been otherwise."

The Oxford Scholar expresses himself as a believer, and so far anticipates my argument. Let it suffice at this point to adopt that striking thought of the Gnostics: the Cross is the Boundary or Dividing Line of human history.

Most considering and educated Europeans would agree that Mankind is now traversing a crisis, the precise character and full gravity of which are as yet hard to perceive, but which certainly has this in common with the earlier crises of history, that it has thrown the world into the greatest distress and confusion, dividing men into sharply opposed parties, and carrying the conflict into every sphere of their life. The Great War is universally recognized as the symptom of an inner dissidence of principle and tendency which had indeed been gathering force in modern society for many years past, and has now at last broken out with destructive violence. The world which we have known is changing with a bewildering rapidity. We have lost the sense of

security, and feel ourselves in the grip of a current, the precise direction of which is unknown.

3. If this be a true account of our present situation, it may well be serviceable, as well to our peace of mind as to our practical guidance, to turn back to those critical years in which the Christian era began, and to mark how Christians then were enabled to carry themselves with courage and wisdom, what were the considerations which steadied them, and what the hopes which filled them with enthusiasm. For my text I have chosen some words which seem to challenge that humiliating fact of change, to which I have adverted, words the more impressive because they were clearly written in a changing time by one who had a clear perception of the fact. "JESUS CHRIST IS THE SAME YESTERDAY, AND TO-DAY, YEA, AND FOR EVER. BE NOT CARRIED AWAY BY DIVERS AND STRANGE TEACHINGS." The sacred writer designs to give his brethren a standard by which to judge the novel theories which, in that time of speculative activity, were claiming them, and he wants to make sure that they are building the fabric of their personal religion on the only adequate foundation. A medieval commentator paraphrases the text thus: "Yesterday HE was with your fathers; to-day HE is with you: HE will HIMSELF

be with your children through all the ages yet to come."

More than eighteen centuries have passed since the unchangeableness of JESUS CHRIST was thus impressively affirmed ; can we still make that affirmation? How far can a believer of the present day, thoughtful and informed, say with the emphasis of personal conviction, "JESUS CHRIST IS THE SAME YESTERDAY, AND TO-DAY, YEA, AND FOR EVER"? That is my first question. If we can find a sufficient answer to it, we shall proceed to consider a second question which it directly suggests: What is the practical inference which we ought to draw from the truth of CHRIST'S immunity from change?

4. It would not be true to say that there had been no change in the formal doctrine about CHRIST, what is technically called the Christology of the Church, though we must never forget that all the different Christologies, which have succeeded one another in the acceptance of believers, have this feature in common, that they are all attempts to express the same spiritual experience. "The faith of the Christian is in a Person, and not in doctrines about Him," said BISHOP WESTCOTT, simply yet profoundly. If this had been remembered, the Church would have been spared the scandal of many

"heresy-hunts," and individual Christians would have escaped much mental distress. Perhaps the mutability of Christological doctrine was more easily perceived in the early centuries when the great creeds of Christendom were in making, for it was not easy to associate the notion of immutability with formularies which were constantly being debated and revised. The downfall of the Roman Empire arrested for many centuries the intellectual activity of Christian scholars. All the energies of the Church were concentrated on the immediate task of bringing the barbarian world under the yoke of CHRIST. When in the sixteenth century the work of Christological speculation was resumed, the ancient Creeds were sacrosanct by the acceptance of more than a thousand years, and there seemed something akin to profanity in attempting to revise or supplement them. A broad view of Christian history will place the later speculations in direct relation to the earlier. Doctrine varies, and must vary, but Faith continues. Throughout the phases of dogmatic definition, amid many variations of religious opinion, the vital belief of the Church was still centred in the Person of the REDEEMER. "JESUS CHRIST WAS THE SAME" in the sixteenth century as in the fourth, and in every other.

5. In what sense, then, can the unchangeableness of JESUS CHRIST be affirmed to-day, after so many changeful centuries of Christian history? I reply: At least in three senses, with reference to three particulars of cardinal importance.

I. JESUS CHRIST has always been, and is still, the object of Christian Worship, or, to use language of greater precision, HE is inseparable from the Object of Christian worship. Christians, in every section of the visible Church, worship GOD IN CHRIST, and have so conceived of the Divine Being from the beginning. They read the Divine Character in terms of the Historic Person: they understand the Divine Will in terms of the Evangelical Teaching: they interpret the Divine Intention in terms of the Gospel. However variously they may have done this (always according to the measure of their powers, and with the limitations of their historic situation), their agreement in the main postulate has been, and is complete. As a summary of the Church's faith, a concise description of the unchanging attitude of Christians in all ages towards the LORD, we may offer the pregnant phrases of the Johannine CHRIST, phrases in which the ripest thought of the Apostolic Age finds expression: "HE THAT HATH SEEN ME HATH SEEN THE

FATHER." "I AND THE FATHER ARE ONE." "YE BELIEVE IN GOD; BELIEVE ALSO IN ME." "NO MAN COMETH UNTO THE FATHER BUT BY ME."

In our miserably divided Christendom this unchanging Faith serves to disclose the limits of the visible Church. This was well insisted upon by the late BISHOP HARVEY GOODWIN in his book on the Creed :

When we regard the world, not as we should wish it to be, but as it is, we may fairly make a division between those who call JESUS CHRIST Lord and those who do not: this is a clear and distinct line of division; and for good and intelligible purposes, those who are on the one side of the line may be said to constitute "the Holy Catholic Church, the Communion of Saints," and those who are on the other side not to constitute any part of that Church.¹

If you would have proof that this impressive and continuing identity in the direction of Christian worship, and in the essential belief about GOD, has not failed in the world to-day, you may find it in the significant horror with which Christendom has observed the reversion of Germany to prae-Christian conceptions of GOD. German preachers and professors have amazed the world by their use of language which belongs rather to ancient Israel than to

¹ Vide *Foundations of the Creed*, p. 287.

the Christian Church, and by their tolerance of procedures which would disgrace the higher paganism of antiquity. They do so without disclosing any consciousness of the theological degradation into which they have fallen. In view of this lamentable apostasy, we have realized as, perhaps, never before how essential CHRIST is to Christianity. We see that Theism is only possible for civilized men in its Christian version. Remove CHRIST from the central place, and the temple of Religion is not only empty but ruined. To conceive of GOD otherwise than CHRIST compels is to revert to the lower creeds of paganism, however adroit we may be in covering the nakedness of our apostasy with phrases borrowed from Christianity. Civilized Mankind cannot go back on its spiritual history.

II. JESUS CHRIST has always been the Magnet of Souls. In the twentieth century as in the first, the Christian Evangelist finds the secret of spiritual victory in "THE WORD OF THE CROSS." The greatest of all evangelists is in this respect strictly normal. ST. PAUL'S description of his message may serve for the whole company from the first. "WE PREACH CHRIST CRUCIFIED, UNTO JEWS A STUMBLING-BLOCK, AND UNTO GENTILES FOOLISHNESS: BUT UNTO THEM THAT ARE CALLED,

BOTH JEWS AND GREEKS, CHRIST THE POWER OF GOD, AND THE WISDOM OF GOD." "The Cross is the peculiar property of the Gospel," it has been said, and truly. It is as a Religion, not so much of Redemption, as of a REDEEMER, that Christianity won its way in the ancient world. It is not otherwise that it is winning its way in our modern world. Historical students now tell us that it was in the character of a "Mystery-Religion" that the Religion of CHRIST first extended among the populations of the Roman Empire. That was an age of Mystery-Religions, and Christianity did but respond to a widely extended demand, which other not wholly dissimilar systems were attempting to meet. There was the Religion of ISIS, and the still more popular Religion of MITHRAS, which has left its mark all over Europe, and seemed at one time on the threshold of complete victory. Then Christianity came on the scene, and vanquished all rivals by its superiority in the same respects. It was the last and greatest of the Mystery-Religions. But a Mystery-Religion was precisely a Religion of Redemption: and the reason why Christianity defeated all the rest was because it alone was really also a Religion of a REDEEMER. ISIS and MITHRAS were but the creations of myth-forming fancy, they

had no reality and no history. But behind the Gospel of Redemption which the Christian Missionaries preached, there was always the historical Figure of the REDEEMER, dying on Calvary for the sins of the People, and reconciling them by HIS Death to the FATHER, from Whom they had gone astray. Here, again, you must distinguish between Faith and Doctrines. Theories of the Atonement have been many. There is no part of Christian Doctrine with respect to which it is more difficult to show any agreement to-day. But about the Fact all Christians are agreed. The Christian Thinker and the Christian Child can unite in the simple lines of the hymn :

There is a green hill far away,
Without a city wall,
Where the dear LORD was crucified
Who died to save us all.

We may not know, we cannot tell,
What pains HE had to bear ;
But we believe it was for us
HE hung and suffered there.

The cause of this impressive agreement lies in the region of spiritual experience. The Fact that CHRIST reconciles men to GOD is affirmed daily by the continuing experience of the Church in all its branches. Ask the Mission Preacher in every

Church and Sect of Christendom what is the burden of his preaching, and what the magnet which draws men to Conversion. All will answer that it is the Cross with its Message of Divine Forgiveness, its proof of a Divine SAVIOUR Who loves men even unto Death. Nowhere is the fundamental agreement of Christians so manifest as in this respect. When they go forth to save souls, they all say the same thing. FABER'S simple words sum up the appeal of the whole Christian Society to Sinners conscious of their sin :

For the Love of GOD is wider
 Than the measures of man's mind,
 And the Heart of the ETERNAL
 Is most wonderfully kind.

Missionary preaching in all the Churches is just that : " GOD SO LOVED THE WORLD, THAT HE GAVE HIS ONLY BEGOTTEN SON, THAT WHOSOEVER BELIEVETH IN HIM SHOULD NOT PERISH, BUT HAVE EVERLASTING LIFE." It has always been this, and always it has won the ear of penitence.

And the deliberate acceptance of the thoughtful and educated has been freely yielded to the same appeal. In the sphere of the mind, as in that of the conscience, it is the Cross that wins men. For the mysterious fact of Vicarious Sacrifice is inter-

woven with human life from birth to death, nay, runs through the whole of Creation : and therefore the notion of a SAVIOUR, winning the world's release by the sacrifice of Himself is so congruous with what we know of our own best selves, and with what we discern in the dark and tangled mass of society, that we must needs welcome it as a Light shining in a dark place. It is hard to believe in GOD at all : it is least hard to believe in a GOD Who loves, suffers, and saves.

So the ALL-GREAT were the ALL-LOVING too—
 So through the thunder comes a human voice
 Saying, "O heart I made, a heart beats here !
 Face, my hands fashioned, see it in myself !
 Thou hast no power nor may'st conceive of mine :
 But love I gave thee, with myself to love,
 And thou must love me who have died for thee !"

Christianity is the Religion of the higher Anthropomorphism. It charters the highest elements of human nature to symbolize and certify the Truth about GOD. Explain it how you will, the fact is certain, and the redemptive force of it.

III. JESUS CHRIST has always provided, and does still provide, the standard of Christian morality. HIS recorded example is the practical exposition of human duty. In this respect, surely, Christianity is unique. Of all the Religion-Founders, JESUS

CHRIST alone is competent to command the acceptance of the human conscience itself, and to give to the individual of every race, and in all circumstances of human living, a satisfying and intelligible Example of right conduct. It were hardly too much to say that the task of the civilized member of other Religions is to explain away the moral limitations of their Founders, but the Christian Apologist's Task is rather to vindicate civilized man's ability to follow in the steps of CHRIST. The humblest effort after goodness takes encouragement from HIS Example: the loftiest aspirations of the human spirit do not go beyond It. HE, and HE alone, can sum up the whole moral demand in the formula, "FOLLOW ME." Even those who disclaim the Christian Profession are ready to acknowledge the Moral Primacy of JESUS. The words of JOHN STUART MILL are well known, but they are worth quoting :

About the life and sayings of JESUS there is a stamp of personal originality combined with profundity of insight, which if we abandon the idle expectation of finding scientific precision where something very different was aimed at, must place the Prophet of Nazareth, even in the estimate of those who have no belief in his inspiration, in the very first rank of the men of sublime genius of whom our species can boast. When this pre-eminent genius is

combined with the qualities of probably the greatest moral reformer, and martyr to that mission, who ever existed upon earth, religion cannot be said to have made a bad choice in pitching on this man as the ideal representative and guide of humanity ; nor, even now, would it be easy, even for an unbeliever, to find a better translation of the rule of virtue from the abstract into the concrete, than to endeavour so to live that CHRIST would approve our life.¹

What is this but a modern echo of ST. PETER'S cry, "LORD, TO WHOM SHALL WE GO, THOU HAST THE WORDS OF ETERNAL LIFE"? Foreign Missions are at the present time obtaining such a measure of success in all parts of the world as to compel the conviction, which the former history of Christianity suggests, that CHRIST is able to do this for all ages and for all races. The standards of human duty are slowly, but steadily rising, as the human race moves forward on its predestined path, but so far from ceasing to find their sanction in the Gospel, civilized men find the Standard therein proposed, not in theory but in realized practice, ever more clearly what their conscience demands and stretches after. Through all the changes and chances of history in the realm of Morals, "JESUS CHRIST IS THE SAME, YESTERDAY, AND TO-DAY, YEA, AND FOR EVER."

¹ Vide *Three Essays on Religion*, p. 254.

I am not indeed forgetting that within recent years we have witnessed a deliberate repudiation of the Christian version of human duty. The Morality of the Gospel has been criticized as limited, servile, impracticable. The pride of man has rebelled against the "YOKE" of the CRUCIFIED: his ambition has chafed against the restraints of Justice: his selfish greed has trampled on the law of Love. "WE ARE THEY THAT OUGHT TO SPEAK, WHO IS LORD OVER US?" is the challenge of the resuscitated paganism of Germany. The world for the Strong; and perdition to the Weak! Well; the world has seen that creed of self-sufficing Force applied resolutely and logically to the conduct of human affairs. With what result? Nothing less than an uprising of civilized mankind against so terrible a curse. The formula of the schools might be written on the banners of the Peoples, marching to battle for the violated Morality of Christendom, "BACK TO CHRIST! It is deeply suggestive that the Dutch Artist, whose pictures are the truest record of this tremendous conflict, habitually and as it were inevitably represents in them the crimes of Germany as so many outrages on the Person of the SON OF MAN, and utters his severest censures in the very Words of CHRIST.

If, then, the Apostle's declaration, read to-day with the commentary of Christian History to explain and test it, can still be affirmed, if Christians of all the Churches can agree that "JESUS CHRIST IS THE SAME YESTERDAY, AND TO-DAY, YEA, AND FOR EVER," must they not proceed to inquire, What are the practical inferences which we ought to draw from the unchangeableness of CHRIST? Surely these two. First, that the variable factors of Christianity are not primary. If CHRIST is patient of so much variety of system, why should we refuse to acquiesce in it? The only thing that gives an evil significance to ecclesiastical variety is its association with the rivalries, and mutual antipathies, of Christians. "HE IS OUR PEACE." We shall never find harmony in any other basis than that of our common discipleship. Realize that : give free course to that : and you will transform our variety of systems and methods from a curse into a blessing. Apply to the actual Christianity which confronts us that large teaching of ST. PAUL : "NOW THERE ARE DIVERSITIES OF GIFTS, BUT THE SAME SPIRIT. AND THERE ARE DIVERSITIES OF MINISTRATIONS, AND THE SAME LORD. AND THERE ARE DIVERSITIES OF WORKINGS, BUT THE SAME LORD, WHO WORKETH ALL THINGS IN ALL." Study that wonderful argument of the

Church as "THE BODY OF CHRIST," and remember that it is intended to lead, not to some theory of the Christian Ministry, but to the "MORE EXCELLENT WAY" of Love. Remember the sevenfold unity which ST. PAUL describes, and ask whether the whole of it is not consistent with an almost infinite variety of system and method, so only "THE UNITY OF THE SPIRIT BE KEPT IN THE BOND OF PEACE."

"THERE IS ONE BODY, AND ONE SPIRIT, EVEN AS ALSO YE WERE CALLED IN ONE HOPE OF YOUR CALLING; ONE LORD, ONE FAITH, ONE BAPTISM, ONE GOD AND FATHER OF ALL, WHO IS OVER ALL, AND THROUGH ALL, AND IN ALL." On the basis of a common discipleship to the Unchanging CHRIST, we could come together in conference, and bring our several contributions of knowledge and experience to the common guidance; we could without disloyalty to any truth, or violation of any principle, consider only the single interest of CHRIST'S Kingdom, and seek the grace of HIS SPIRIT to do what the anxious circumstances of our time seem to require. That is the one inference. The other is this. If we would gain an audience for our message, we must make sure that we keep CHRIST in the forefront of it. ST. PAUL'S formula must be ours: "WE PREACH NOT OURSELVES BUT CHRIST

JESUS AS LORD, AND OURSELVES AS YOUR SERVANTS FOR JESUS' SAKE." If all of us, be our denominational description what it may, could say that sincerely, and work in the spirit therein disclosed, we should not fail of winning audience for our message. Let me end with a personal reminiscence.

Thirty years ago I was beginning my ministry as Head of the Oxford House in Bethnal Green. There was then an active secularist movement in East London, which had its principal centre in a hall where meetings were regularly held on Sunday evenings. Objections were invited at the close of the lectures, and dealt with always with vigour, and sometimes with success. The men in the clubs told me about these meetings, which evidently impressed them. They urged me to go, and plainly thought I ought to. So one Sunday evening, when a favourite orator was announced as the lecturer, I went. The hall, a large one, was crowded mainly with young and middle-aged men, among whom I recognized some of my friends from Bethnal Green. The speaker was able, well-informed, and occasionally really eloquent. He made some good, and many effective, points against Christianity as it is presented in England by the Churches, and then he went on to use language of insult and ribaldry with respect

to our LORD. I was watching his hearers very closely, and I perceived that while he carried them with him easily so long as he denounced the Churches, their interest and sympathy flagged as soon as he attacked JESUS CHRIST, and were exchanged for something very like repugnance. When opportunity came, I was allowed to address the meeting, and had no difficulty whatever in securing the loudest applause for a brief protest against such a treatment of HIM Who lived for men's service, and died for their Redemption. The incident made a profound and lasting impression on my mind. It told me where lay the weakness, and where the strength, of Christianity. All the years that have passed since have but confirmed the lesson of that secularist meeting.

APPENDIX

THE CHURCH AND NONCONFORMITY

I

Mr. Albert Dawson to the Dean of Durham

THE CITY TEMPLE, HOLBORN VIADUCT,
LONDON, E.C.,

January 13, 1917.

VERY REV. SIR—I am requested by the Church Committee to invite you to preach here at one or both of the services on any Sunday after the end of February. We are at present without a minister, and it is felt that at this juncture, when relations between Anglicans and Nonconformists are more cordial than they have ever been, a visit from you would do much good. We remember that on more than one occasion you have shown fraternal feeling for Nonconformists, and we shall greatly rejoice if you can see your way to accept this invitation. Your appearance in the City Temple pulpit would be a demonstration of Christian unity which would have a very beneficial effect upon, in particular, the non-churchgoing public.—I am, yours sincerely,

ALBERT DAWSON, *Hon. Sec.*

THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF DURHAM.

II

The Dean of Durham to Mr. Albert Dawson

DEANERY, DURHAM,

January 16, 1917.

MY DEAR SIR—I have to acknowledge your letter of January 13 conveying from the Church Committee of the City Temple an invitation to preach in that church, and I take leave to thank you very heartily for the kind words in which that invitation is conveyed.

Just eight years have passed since I was formally “inhibited” by the Bishop of Oxford (then Bishop of Birmingham) from preaching in the Digbeth Institute connected with the Carr’s Lane Church at Birmingham, then represented by that eminent preacher, Dr. Jowett. The legal document, signed and sealed, hangs framed on my wall to remind me of a significant episode in my own career, which had far more than a personal importance. Some correspondence passed between Bishop Gore and myself, which by its publication served, perhaps, a valuable purpose in educating the public mind and stirring the Christian conscience.

I have observed with very great pleasure that the Bishop of London is reported recently to have authorized the loan of a parish church within his diocese to Presbyterians in circumstances which called plainly for an exercise of Christian fraternity. I cannot indeed satisfy myself that his lordship had any legal power to do this, but I applaud his frank recognition that (in the words of Archbishop Tillotson) “Charity is above rubrics,” and I admire his intelligent refusal to plead a morally obsolete law against an evident public duty.

You yourself say that at the present time "relations between Anglicans and Nonconformists are more cordial than they have ever been." That assurance is infinitely welcome to me, and I infer from it your own clear persuasion that, if I accept your kind invitation to preach in the "City Temple," I may be well assured that the general sentiment of religious people in London would approve my action.

You do me no more than justice when you credit me with "fraternal feeling for Nonconformists." Not only are many Nonconformists my personal friends, and many Nonconformist scholars my honoured teachers, but it is my fortune to reside in a part of England where Nonconformists are numerous, and where, but for their Apostolic labours a few generations ago, Christianity itself could hardly have existed among the incoming multitudes who were engaged in developing the mineral wealth of the country. Besides, I am firmly convinced that the world never needed so urgently as in this critical time a clear and constant affirmation of those evangelical principles which are the common heritage of all the Reformed Churches.

In the maintenance and extension throughout the world of Evangelical Christianity the Nonconformists and their disciples in other lands (where the term Nonconformist is unmeaning) have in God's Providence achieved great things. I hold it the plainest duty of the parent Church of England to draw closer and make effective for service the spiritual links which unite the divided sections of English-speaking Christendom in an unexpressed but conscious unity.

I believe that the only reunion of Christendom which would be sound, or could be permanent, must be built on

those Evangelical principles which were reaffirmed at the Reformation, that the method of spiritual advance is forwards from what has been already gained, not backwards to what was once and is no more. Therefore I would gladly labour for the closer association in work and worship of Anglicans and Nonconformists.

The intrinsic importance of the proposition you have made to me, its unhappily exceptional character, and the deep sense I have of the solemn significance of this time, lead me (at very great inconvenience to myself) to accept the invitation of your Church Committee, and to consent to preach in the City Temple on Sunday, March 25 next, at both the services.

You are quite free to make any public use of this letter which you may think desirable.—Believe me, yours very faithfully,

(Signed) H. HENSLEY HENSON,
Dean of Durham.

ALBERT DAWSON, Esq.,
Hon. Sec. of the Church Committee of the City Temple.

III

The Bishop of London to the Dean of Durham

LONDON HOUSE,
January 29, 1917.

DEAR DEAN—Although you have sent me no intimation of your intention yourself, I noticed in *The Times* a few days ago that you announce your acceptance of an invitation to preach in the City Temple. May I ask you, not only as an old friend but as Bishop of London, to reconsider your acceptance?

During the sixteen years I have been Bishop of London I have made it my business to draw all Christians in London together; I have been elected for sixteen years Chairman of the London Public Morality Council and Chairman of the London Temperance League—these bodies contain all denominations of Christians and also the Jewish community. I will venture to say that never have the relations between the Church and other Christian bodies in London been more trustful and more cordial.

But this has been accomplished on certain lines, and surely it is the business of the responsible Bishop of the diocese and not some one outside, however distinguished, to determine those lines.

It is my deliberate opinion that the action you contemplate tends to defeat instead of helping on the ultimate reunion on which my heart is set as much as yours.

Such a reunion can only come about by recognizing the principles which underlie our divisions, and not by ignoring them. The Committee on Faith and Order now sitting is in my opinion on the right lines.

The instance you adduce as a precedent, you will forgive my saying, has nothing to do with the matter. A body of earnest Christians at Northwood, whose new Church had been commandeered for the wounded, found themselves without a building; there is absolutely no breach of principle in allowing them to meet and hold a service within the walls of one of our churches at a time when it was not in use. We are not responsible in any way for the service. It is purely an act of Christian courtesy, and such a course ought to have been followed in France instead of our poor men being left to hold their services in draughty barns or in the open air.

So far from our being on anything but brotherly terms

with the City Temple, the last evening I spent before going over to France was with a Bible Class of the young people from the City Temple whom I addressed in a neutral hall, and spent nearly an hour after my lecture in answering questions relating to difficulties felt by many of them on Church Teaching.

There is no breach of principle in this whatever, and if this was what you proposed to do I should only give my blessing on your words.

But the impression which the course you propose to adopt will make is that there is no difference whatever in principle between the Congregational Church and the Church of England, that all our distinctive teaching about Baptism, Confirmation, and the Holy Communion are idle words, and that as a matter of fact the late greatly respected Pastor of the City Temple took an unnecessarily invidious course in coming forward for ordination.

You may say that you do not mean all this, but this is how it will be understood by the Churchpeople of London, and it is for this reason, and from no want of love and charity towards any fellow-Christian in London, that I would earnestly deprecate the course you propose to take.—Yours very sincerely,

A. F. LONDON.

IV

The Dean of Durham to the Bishop of London

DEANERY, DURHAM,

February 1, 1917.

MY DEAR BISHOP—I am greatly obliged to you for your letter, and thank you heartily for the tone of

personal friendship which pervades it, and which, I trust, will always mark our private relations. If in this letter I must needs address the Bishop of London rather than "an old friend," it is because the question between us concerns the English people in no common degree, and raises a religious issue of the first importance. You will, I know, absolve me in advance from any intention of personal discourtesy if I write with complete frankness, and make as full a disclosure as I can of the reasons which have led me to the decision that it is my plain duty to accept the invitation of the Church Committee of the City Temple.

This acceptance implies a certain change of opinion on my own part. When, in 1902, Dr. Parker invited me to preach in the City Temple, I declined, alleging "the extreme repugnance which I felt to taking any step which could wear the aspect of illegality"; and when, in the following year, Mr. Ensor Walters asked me to preach in St. James's Hall, I refused "with much regret, and with earnest hope that the day might not be far distant when an interchange of pulpits between the ordained ministers of different branches of Christ's Church might seem the most natural thing in the world." Later in that year, 1903, I received a similar invitation from Dr. Hunter, and again I declined, basing my refusal "simply on considerations of expediency." Even as late as 1911 I wrote to the *Westminster Gazette* that "recognition of Churches by intercommunion must properly precede exchange of pulpits, and, indeed, every other form of religious co-operation." My preaching for Dr. Jowett at the Digbeth Institute in 1909 implied no departure from this view, for I had every reason to suppose that my action would have been regarded as a normal procedure, and,

indeed, I accepted the invitation on that assumption. Why, then, have I decided to do in 1917 what hitherto I have thought inexpedient? Your Lordship's letter goes some way to provide the explanation.

You appear to suppose that co-operation in civic action, and personal courtesy to non-Anglicans, are the true equivalents of Christian fellowship, and you point to your association with many types of citizen, Christian and Jewish alike, as evidence of your success in "drawing all Christians in London together." In view of this excellent and fruitful civic activity you "venture to say that never have the relations between the Church and other Christian bodies in London been more trustful or more cordial." I must needs remind your Lordship that the co-operation of good citizens for the advancement of social reforms is an essential part of civic duty, and has no reference whatever to the relations of Churches. You could not refuse the alliance of "Jews, Turks, Infidels, and Hereticks" in the work of the London Public Morality Council and the London Temperance League. The Heads of the Roman Catholic Church can go this length in friendly association with their Protestant fellow-citizens, whose religious fellowship none the less they rigorously and relentlessly refuse. When, therefore, you proceed to say that "this has been accomplished on certain lines," and that "it is the business of the responsible Bishop of the diocese to determine those lines," I find it difficult to follow your thought. The lines are those of obvious civic duty, and the actual result does not carry us an inch outside severely normal civic action. Accordingly, when your Lordship expresses a "deliberate opinion" that my preaching in the City Temple will tend to "defeat," and not to help on, the cause of "ultimate reunion," I can only answer that the

course which you yourself commend by precept and example has manifestly led you to failure. It has brought you back to the same evil situation as that from which it promised to release you—viz., a sinful alienation from the fellowship of Christ's people.

Nor is the reason obscure. Your large-hearted civic action has not stood alone. It has gone ever along with a determined effort to isolate the Church of England from all *religious* association with Evangelical Christians. Thus it has come to be the case that the older exclusiveness bred of social prejudice and partisan politics (which is happily dying out) is being replaced by a new exclusiveness of religious principle, bound on the consciences of English Churchmen by a theory of the Church, nominally Catholic, but essentially sectarian. This deliberate narrowing of the National Church by the perversion of the Anglican conscience is the really salient feature of the religious situation in England, and it has been the principal factor in leading me to my present action.

If the present situation were realized as intrinsically wrong, and if a resolute effort were being made to recover a juster sense of proportion, to distinguish between the essentials of Christianity and the adiaphora which separate the Churches, and to re-examine the reasons of separation with a view to putting an end to the calamitous isolation in which we now stand, it might be fairly argued that the control of Anglican policy should be left in the hands of the Episcopal bench. But since the case is far otherwise, since the efforts of the Bishops are mostly directed towards emphasizing the very points which divide the Churches, since nothing but discouragement is ever given by their Lordships to any attempt (*e.g.* at Kikuyu) to find a way out of the present estrangements, is it matter for surprise

or censure that individual Anglicans, clergymen and laymen, should act on their own initiative, and do what they can with such lights as are given them? The risks of individual action are obvious enough; but the failure of the official policy is manifest, and for the best of reasons. The policy of Anglican exclusiveness offends the consciences of Evangelical Christians, and stereotypes separations which are becoming practically intolerable.

My objection to the course which your Lordship pursues is precisely this—that it exaggerates the non-essentials which divide, and throws into the background the fundamentals which unite. Your personal charm, your ready flow of sympathy for all good causes, and your taking enthusiasm where your heart is engaged, all the admirable qualities which have invested your Lordship with so remarkable a measure of popular affection, may conceal from you the true character of the course you are pursuing, and may in some degree mitigate the ill consequences of your ecclesiastical theory, but nothing can really alter the conclusion which the premises of intolerance require.

It needs not that I should dissent from your Lordship's statement that "reunion can only come about by recognizing the principles which underlie our divisions and not by ignoring them," in order to maintain that such recognition of differences ought never so to be emphasized as to drive out of mind those more ultimate principles with respect to which all genuine Christians must necessarily agree, and which it is the worst mischief of "our unhappy divisions" to obscure. I did not adduce your treatment of the dispossessed Presbyterians "as a precedent," but as an illustration of the attitude towards

ecclesiastical law which it was sometimes right to adopt. I referred to it the more willingly since it seemed to give me reason for thinking that you would approve my departure from conventional procedures, and because it brought to me the too rare opportunity of supporting your public course. But your description of your own action raises some misgivings in my mind. I am in doubt as to your meaning. If there is "absolutely no breach of principle" in your permitting Presbyterian worship within the walls of a consecrated church, why should not as much be said of my preaching in a Congregational Church? The two procedures are obviously identical in point of principle. Both presuppose a fundamental agreement strong enough to override acknowledged and apparent differences. You were not "responsible in any way for the (Presbyterian) service." I shall be still less responsible for the Congregational service on March 25th. You were performing an act of "Christian courtesy"; I shall be doing precisely the same. In blaming the Roman Catholics of France for refusing the use of their churches for Anglican worship (that is, for worship which they must needs believe to be heretical and schismatical), I apprehend that your Lordship's natural resentment gets the better of reason and justice. It is worth noting that you seem to identify your own attitude towards Presbyterians with that of the Roman Church towards Anglicans.

But I note with great satisfaction that your Lordship does not raise any legal objection to my preaching in the City Temple, but only an objection on grounds of what you call "principle." It would, indeed, be almost trivial to speak in formal terms of "intrusion," since there cannot really be any intrusion save where there are rights of

ministry. Since neither Bishop nor Incumbent possesses any rights of ministry within Nonconformist Churches, it is obvious that by accepting an invitation to preach no English clergyman can properly be said to invade the jurisdiction of either. The law of the Church mainly belongs to the præ-Toleration era, and can only apply to the circumstances of our own time with many reservations and mitigating glosses. Lawyers may, or may not, be free to make these, but plain men must needs make them, and I rejoice to know that so far we are in agreement.

But your Lordship adds another evidence of the "brotherly terms" on which, as you maintain, you stand with the City Temple, from which, none the less, you would exclude me. You addressed a Bible Class of City Templars "in a neutral hall," and devoted an hour to ecclesiastical debate ! The very phrase—a neutral hall—does not suggest fraternity. It belongs to the vocabulary of warfare, suggesting armies in conflict consenting to suspend their fighting for a breathing-space. That is not my notion of "brotherly terms." How could I insult my fellow-Christians by suggesting that the only fitting place for me to meet them was "neutral"? What could be the objection to their own Church, the obviously natural place for such a meeting? The only possible answer which could justify my refusal to meet them *there* would destroy every pretence of fraternity.

The truth is, my Lord, that this specious method of uniting the language of charity and the creed of intolerance, combining a parade of fraternity in "neutral places," and with respect to issues which have no religious significance, with a sustained effort to educate Anglicans into making a "principle" of exclusiveness, is bound to fail as

soon as men realize its character. It does not ring true when put to the test. "Let love be without hypocrisy," says St. Paul. I do not think the candid Apostle would have tolerated such fraternity with limited liability as your Lordship has described.

You credit the Churchpeople of London with very little intelligence when you say that they will read into my visit to the City Temple all manner of formidable meanings. The difference of polity and teaching which exist between the Congregational Church and our own are matters of fact, and cannot be affected by my action. All that could rightly be inferred would be that those differences did not in my view destroy discipleship, and therefore left me not only free to confess fraternity in Christ, but bound in conscience (so far as opportunity came to me) to do so.

The "City Temple" is something more than a Congregational Church. Among Nonconformists, and I think also with the general public, it has a representative character, somewhat like that which attaches in Anglican minds to St. Paul's Cathedral or Westminster Abbey. I was the more willing to accept an invitation to preach in that famous church because I desired my action to be understood as a public recognition of the fellowship which as an Anglican I claim to possess with the Evangelical Churches of the English Dispersion, historically sprung from the Church of England, which have carried the principles of Evangelical Christianity throughout the English-speaking world, and far over the earth. I am not, of course, ignorant of the defects which mark those non-episcopal Churches, and it may go without saying that there is much in their system of polity which I disapprove; but I should wrong my own conscience if I did not acknowledge their

spiritual labours, and I should insult my reason if I did not turn to them in the first instance when the question of the unity of Christendom is in debate.

Your Lordship mentions "our distinctive teaching about Baptism, Confirmation, and the Holy Communion," but I am not clear as to what you wish me to understand. Recently I have had occasion to read the Bishop of Oxford's "Manual of Membership," and, so far as I know, there has been no dissent from the teaching therein set forth expressed by any other Bishop. If the sacramental teaching of that "Manual" represents your Lordship's conception of "our distinctive teaching," I think it requisite to say frankly that I cannot reconcile it with the authoritative standards of the Church of England. It is in my judgment more Roman than Anglican.

You are pleased to refer to the re-ordination of the Rev. R. J. Campbell, and to suggest that my preaching in his former pulpit must be interpreted as some kind of a censure on him. Certainly nothing could possibly be farther from my thoughts. He followed his conscience. How can I but applaud him? Had he left his action to speak for itself, I should have thought it indecent for any one to comment on it. Since, however, he has published an account of his spiritual pilgrimage out of Congregationalism into Anglicanism, I trust it is not improper for me to observe that his conception of the Church of England appears to me in some important respects gravely mistaken, and that I cannot believe that a mind so sensitive, sincere, active, and informed as his can permanently be satisfied with his present situation. "To his own Master he must stand or fall." Let it suffice that I rejoice to know that his eminent gifts will still be at the service of English Christianity, and that I wish him

from my heart a career of happy service in the ranks of the Anglican Ministry.

My Lord, there is only one thing more to be said in order to complete my statement of the reasons why I must regretfully but decisively decline to comply with your wishes.

This is no ordinary time. The Great War, which has wrapped the world in blood and tears, has called the Christian Churches to realize their failures, to correct their faults, to reorder themselves for better service in the coming time. Nothing less than this was, I presume, the postulate of those who organized what was called the "National Mission," in which your Lordship laboured with so much ardour, and with such large acceptance. Whatever view may be held as to the wisdom of organizing that kind of special effort at a time when the lessons of the War were but half disclosed, if disclosed at all, and when necessarily the methods employed followed those conventional lines which were admittedly unsatisfactory, none, I think, will be disposed to question the soundness of that postulate. The Great War, as we Christians see it, is "a Day of the Lord" in which we are Divinely called to "hear what the Spirit saith to the Churches." Grave changes are coming upon the National Church: great opportunities are about to open upon her. In what spirit ought English Churchmen to face the future? In the spirit of exclusiveness? or in the spirit of Fraternity? Are we to exalt our denominational differentiae into principles? or are we rather to realize that profounder agreement, which we all really acknowledge, and recognize as brothers "all who love the Lord Jesus Christ in uncorruptness"? St. Paul's generous phrase cannot be pinched into harmony with the request which you have addressed to me, nor will

I believe that your best mind is uttered in the too familiar language of Anglican exclusiveness. Whether that be so or not, my own decision is made, and my own course determined.—I am, my dear Bishop, yours very sincerely,

H. HENSLEY HENSON.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE AND RIGHT REVEREND
THE LORD BISHOP OF LONDON.

THE END

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